## GOMMUNISTS EMERGE STRONGE

The Secretariat of the National Council which met in Delhi on March 10, expresses its heartfelt thanks to the millions of people who voted for the Communist Party and its allies in the last general elections.

D URING the election campaign, thousands of working people, our dear and sin-cere friends, worked tirelessly and made great sacrifices for OUT SUCCESS

It is their initiative, their It is their initiative, their efforts and their sacrifices which enabled our Party and its allies to put up a valiant fight against the monopoly of political power of the Congress, and against forces of ommunalism and right reac-

tion.
Our opponents prophesical that the Communist Party and the democratic move-ment would be pushed back in the elections. But the elections have proved them false prophets. In the country as a whole, the Commu-

nist Party and its democratic allies have won new successes and emerged stronger. At the same time, our Party notes with great concern the growth of the Swatantra Party and the Jana Sangh and other communal parties in certain

parts of the country.

This challenge of reaction and communalism has to be met with all the strength and striking power of the broad forces of democracy.

we are conscious that we have to advance with far greater strides and build still broader unity of the democratic and patriotic forces in the country in the struggle for a better life and for a strong and prosperous

It is naturally of the utmost It is naturally of the utmost importance that we consolidate and further strengthen the unity of the left forces which we have achieved as, for example, in West Bengal and Maharashtra. To these and Manarasntra. To these great tasks, our Party will de-vote itself in the coming period with all energy.

The elections have been a

great experience for our Party and, indeed, for all democratic forces. The National Council of our Party will shortly re-view our Party's election stru-ggles and draw necessary lessons from our experience, in order that we can overcome our political and organisationour political and organisational weaknesses as well as the shortcomings in our work among the masses. The elections have highlighted not a few of such weaknesses and shortcomings which must be overcome at all costs.

We assure all sections of our working pople, irrespectice of whether they sup-ported us or the Congress or any other party, that our Party shall always stand by them in defending their vital interests. The election results have ever so empha-sised the need for greater unity and exertion on the

unity and exertion on the part of the democratic and patriotic forces.

The parliamentary elections in Kerala have proved both in terms of votes polled and of seats won or lost that the present Congress-PSP alliance which is in control of the State Government does not command the confidence of the electorate and the people.

the electorate and the people. In these elections, the Com-munist Party and its allies who fought as a single front have won a larger number of votes than the Congress and PSP put together and won ten seats as against six by the alliance of Congress and the

The Secretariat is firmly of the opinion that the Congress and the PSP coalition government in Kerala tion government in Kerala has no right, politically and morally, and even from the point of view of constitu-tional propriety, to continue further in office. The Secretariat demands the immediate resignation of this coalition ministry in Kerala. It is surprising that the Central Government should have chosen to shut its eyes to this popular verdict and now applied different standards in order that this coalition gov-ernment can continue. This defiance of popular verdict defiance of popular verdict given in terms of the Consti-tution and this flouting of the normal constitutional princi-ples and practices in a par-liamentary system can only bring incalculable harm to India's parliamentary institu-tions and undermine our Constitution.

## Defence Of Democracy

We print below brief extracts from the speech by P. Ramamurti in the Rajya Sabha on the Presi-dent's Address (March 13).

THE Address of our revered President naturally makes reference to the recent elections but before coming to tions but before coming to that reference I would like to join in the rejoicing of all sections of the House and of the Government and the President at the fact of the re-cent liberation of Goa, the last vestige of colonialism in

our country

At the same time, the President takes note of the fact sident takes note of the fact that there were certain countries which were opposed to this and which were angry over this but the vast majority of the population of the world and a vast majority of the governments, particularly the governments in Asia and Africa, have acclaimed this act of liberation.

I would like the Government of India to take note

I would like the Government of India to take note of the particular people, the particular governments which have become extremely angry over this fact of liberation of Goa, and what it signifies. I do not want to dilate much on this problem within the short time at my disposal. at my disposal.

#### Wrong Method

Coming to the elections would like to read what the President has said in his Address in regard to it: "As a re sult of the elections my Government have received a sig-nificant vote of confidence in their internal and external policies and a renewed mandate to strive...

I dare say that the Govern-ment of India was not a party to the elections; it is the Con-gress Party, the party in po-wer which certainly was a wer which certainly was a party in the elections and I

do not think it is constitu-tionally proper that the Pre-sident should be dragged into this kind of controversy over policies that a particular rul-ing party put forward in the

It is not good and it is absolutely unnecessary for the President to talk about the President to talk about this. We have to lay down constitutional proprieties, and the President of India has certainly got to be kept above party politics.

#### Congress **Tactics**

Now, coming to the election itself, it is true that the Con-gress Party has come back to power, has been returned with power, has been returned with a majority, but let us consider this fact also that even after boasting about the achieve-ments in the Five Year Plans, the percentage of votes that the Congress party has receiv-ed in this election is even less than what it got before.

It has not been able to get the majority of votes polled. Let us not forget that. Let us also realise that this election was fought by the ruling party with the spending of a tre-mendous amount of money, more than in any previous elections

This was in 1937, I remem-This was in 1937, I remember very well as a Congress worker, when we fought the biggest money magnates, biggest landlords and biggest Maharajas in this country, with no money. The same party today has got to spend lakhs and lakhs of times?

Ramamurti then went on to give many instances of the figgrant manner in which Ministers used their official position to influence the elec-

tions—inaugurating projects, laying foundation stones, etc. He called for a probe into the question by the Election Commission Commission.

He next dealt with the situ ation that had arisen in Keation that had arisen in Kerala, where the majority of the electorate had clearly given their verdict against the coalition Ministry. He called for the recognition of the Ministry and appealed to Pandit Nehru in this connec-

The President has made a reference to the code of dis-cipline and industrial relations. I would like to refer to the employers in the public sector industries. I am glad, that yesterday's newspapers carried a news item that the strike in the Heavy Electrical Company at Bhopal had been settled.

But then why was it necessary for the workers in that particular industry to go on strike for nearly a month? This is something which has got to be gone into. After all we had nothing to do with it.

#### **Bhopal** Strike

is an independent union and it is because of the cuss-edness of the management right from the beginning that this thing has been going on there, strike after strike.

I would like to ask in a public undertaking of this type, if we have got such wooden-headed bureaucratic officials who do not understand what industrial relations today who do not inderstand what industrial relations today mean, what should we do? They do not today, carry out even the law of the land.

When the law of the land says, for example, that a par-ticular union has got to be recognised on the basis of the strength of its real member-ship, the union is not recogmised. The management refused to function even the Staff Council which is today a statutory obligation.

Here is a management which thinks that it can do whatever it likes and the workers are there to submit themselves as slaves. There is something rotten in this public sector undertaking It is a lic sector undertaking It is a serious matter.

#### **Probe** Needed

Therefore, I would ask the Government to undertake a serious enquiry, not by some officials but a serious en-quiry in which the Mem-bers of Parliament are effectively associated, because we have sanctioned hunwe have sanctioned nun-dreds of crores of rupees for many of these public sector undertakings, and we have got a right to know what is happening in these undertakings.

When the President

increased national wealth has increased national wealth has been distributed in this country. I am not going into the whole question, because there is not much time for that. We had a Committee to go into that question. What happened to that Committee?

We find growing concenration of wealth in the hands of a few families. Financial institutions, like banks, are in the hands of a few families. Similarly industrial concerns are in the hands of the same few fami-lies. This is what is happennes. This is what is happening in our country. This is not something which is very desirable, and the projection of this has also taken place in the newspaper industry.

The latest report of the The latest report of the Press Registrar says that nearly 61 per cent of the total circulation of daily news-papers in this country is concentrated in the hands of ten big families, who also happen to be industrial tycoons, who happen to be also bank-ing tycoons. We know what the result of that has been in the Bombay election.

#### Serious

The Prime Minister also complained about that Let us, therefore, not talk very much of democracy when we quoting many of these statis-ties, I wish that they had quo-ted the other side of the sta-sort of concentration of tisics and found out how this increased rational income, a serious evil to democracy. are continuing to allow this sort of concentration of wealth to take place. This is



VOL. X, No. 11

NEW DELHI, MARCH 18, 1962

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## NEPAL—Battle For Democracy

selves are yictims of unem-ployment, dearness, poverty and periodical staryation

Some Minister speaks about the reduction of rent, but there is neither any law

nor is any legal protection given. It only sows the seeds or war between the peasants and the small landowners,

old cultural movement (what-

ever there was of it) has been

tery of the King and justifica-tion of his military dictator-

tical parties, class, and mass. organisations of the people, the King has begun to orga-nise His Majesty's Royal class

and mass organisations like the Nepal Kisan Sangathan.

Nepal Vidyarthi Sangathan, Nepal Nidyarthi Sangathan,

etc., which shall have the

majority of the office-bearers

treasurers at all levels com-

pulsorily chosen from among

Thus, the whole organisa-

nominated by the and the secretaries

while banning all the poli-

Banned

fundamental task before the patriotic sons of Nepal.

HE recent proclamation property and the extortion of the recent proclamation of King Mahendra with its so-called restoration of fundamental rights does not bring any fundamental change in the political situation of Nepal. On the day of Human Rights, the King proclaims the restoration of fundamental rights, but ton the very enext day an ordinance was imposed upon the people throcugh Nepal Gazette banning all political activities

Not only are people being errested for political activities, but anybody can be are rested and is being arrested and imprisoned at the whim of police and government offielals with no concrete onarge

Once arrested, mobody knows when he will be releas-ed. But astonishingly enough. not only was there proclama-tion of fundamental rights. but talks were given from Radio Nepal about the need for human rights. Such is the hypocrisy of King Mahendra

#### Brutal Rule

The dictatorial regime of King Mahendra not only affected, the political life of the country, but as is natural, the life of the people in all as pects, political, economic, cultural as mall.

who is the dictator, but he has given the dictatrial power to the reactionary feudals, ramindars, local bullies, the magistrates and the bada-bakims to arrest anybody on political suspi-cion and hand him over to the police for an indefinite the police for an indefinite period. They can fine him up to rupees two thousand and jail for one year, which can be enhanced and is actually enhanced from year to year. Such political suspects, are thrashed mercilessly, their hair torn out, kicked, hung on the pole for days and white

the poles for days and whip-ped and their legs locked with huge logs—notoriously known as turung. Every jail has its turungs.

the hand of the police, the feudals and the local bullies along with the ban of political parties, class and mass orga-nisations and the denial of fundamental rights have opened wide the door for of the masses. To grab other's land, cattle and personal

sents. Yet, curiously enough, there are some political leathere are some political lea-ders in the country who have volunteered to spread the tale noney has become very easy.

Forced labour has become
a regular feature in the
villages. Eviction is sampant. Under the King's dicthat the King is launching upon a drastic land reform. Fortunately, such persons are tatorial regime, even during tatorial regime, even during the land survey, the tillers could not dare to record their names even as tillers of the land. Bethi hegari and salami are gradually raising their heads from old graves where they were builed years, ago as a regult of nearth. a very minor section of the population, who have lost their faith in the people.

We ask them: Is the land sealed or was it distributed? What about the eyer increasing back-breaking burden of debt on the peasants? Nothing is being done in this respect.

Regarding the reduction of rent in the valley it is noth-

of peasant struggles. Dandahs (Government; offi-Regarding the reduction of rent in the valley, it is nothing but a shrewd maye of the King to sollt the revolutionary forces of the yalley—the peasants and the small and poor landowners owning small plots of land and who themdals on tour) were sent but they ordered the peasants to pay all the arrears of rent along with the 10 per centur-

landowners as in ancient days.

Apart from the peasanty other labouring people eare King's regime. Unemployment is growing prices rising skyhigh, starvation spreading its tentagles far and wide. Trade theing removed from their posts in thousands and their places filled by the henchmen of the King and their relatives. Nobody's job is secur and the life of everybody.

terest on it and respect the

insecure. Yes, of course, a section of people, if they can be so called, has gained by the King's dictatorial regime. The reactionary feudals, the big hirtawals, the big landlords and local builties, the spies and the police and the goondas have gained. They are free to exploit and oppress.

## Jubilant

The progressive taxation inon the landlords beginning from 25 bighas of land has been replaced by pro-portional taxation beginning from the smallest holders possessing a tiny plot of land, thus clearly shifting the burden of taxa tion from the shoulders of the big landowners to that of the small and poor ones.

Then, the big birtawals whose birtas were abolished during the democratic regime and who were to get no mor than Rs. 12,000 as compense tion, still enjoy their income from the hirtas and have been ormous sums if and when thei

By PUSPA LAL, Member Polit-Bureau, Communist Party Of Nepal tion is thoroughly controlled by the King and the duties of the heads of all the organisations at all levels is to report to the government about any political activities of their government about any political activities of their government. Thus, it is quite clear as to whose class interests the Kingserves and whom he represubordinates and the general

uch a duty is imposed upon all the responsible govern-ment officials school teachers. heads of the villages, etc. The constitution of the Royal mass and class organisations clearly puts their aim as: "to employ the energy of the peasantry, Mazdoor Vidyarthi,
etc., of the respective organisation, in national construction while keeping them eyer
conscious of their duty and
responsibility towards the
King"

Such organisations are nothing but a source of forced labour of the classes and masses concerned. It is also quite obytous, that, such organisations are nothing but a spy-net spread over the country and an instru-ment to propagate and fight against popular struggles. These are nothing but fas-cist organisations.

mental rights! But the ques-tion is, "guided by whom?"

Of course, under the military dictatorship of the King it means guided by the whims of King Mahendra. Such leaders are already busy objecting to and sabotaging popular

and the small landowners, which are being gradually fanned into regular fights between these two sections. At other places where the big plots of the big feudals lie, there is no talk about the reduction of rent.

Culture! Yes, of course, the bid cultural movement (what the King in the Lhasa-Kath-mandu Road. We feel its need and wish for its successful construction. We feel the need stifled and is being replaced by a wonderful new culture, whose sole theme is the flatfor the development of economic, cultural and diplomatic relations with China.

#### Internal

But we think this is not to be confused, with the political situation in Nepal; We are sure Communism will not overflow from Tibet into Nepal via the Lhasa Kath-mandu Road. Nor are revolutions imported from abroad. It is always the internal mass revolutionary force of the labouring peo-ple of the country that shall establish socialism in the

It is through the victorious struggle against the feudal reactionaries, the imperialists and the counter-revolutiona-ries that socialism is established in a country.

To fight such a big reactionary, counter-revolutionary force, the primary need is not King, but a broad based mass revolutionary force, a broad united front of the den and revolutionary forces based upon the worker-peasant alli-ance led by the working class through its vanguard the Communist Party.

But it is this vital thing that the King refuses. The King bans all organisations of the people save and except his own fascist ones. Of course, bourgeois demogracy, will, not solve the basic problems of the people. We know there are one thousand and one weaknesses in bourgeois demogracy. Of

against popular struggles in bourgeois democracy. Of These are nothing but ascist organisations.

With such a dark and dismal situation in the country, some political leaders have begun to compare King Mahendra with Dr. Sukarno and are taking of guided democracy and guided fundamental rightst. But the guesties interests of the bourgeoiste into an instrument programmental rightst. But the guesties into an instrument programmental rightst. But the guesties into an instrument programmental rightst.

class interests of the bour-geoisic into an instrument serving the working people"? Lemin has clearly stated, "political liberty will not at once deliver the working peoonce deliver the working peo-ple from poverty but it will give the workers a weapor with which to fight poverty.

struggles of democracy. "There is no other means Royalist leaders have found and there can be no other a plea for capitulation before means of fighting poverty ex-the King in the Lhasa-Kath- cept the unity, of the workers mandu Road. We feel its need themselves. But millions of and wish for its successful people cannot unite unless construction. We feel the need there is political liberty.

"And to free themselves the "And to free themselves the workers of the whole of Russia, must unite in one Union, in one party, but millions of workers cannot unite if the autocratic police government buns all meetings, all workers' newspapers and the election of workers' deputies."

Clearly, neither the King's dictatorial regime, nor the so-called Basic Democracy controlled and guided by the whims of the King can solve the various problems facing the country and surely, democracy is not a thing to be sacrificed at the altar of the King's military dictatorship. The importance and the need for decow statement of 1960 states

\* SEE-PAGE 13

## Democratic Opposition



Shakir-Ali. MLA

PAGE TWO



S. Lahiri; MLA (Calcutta),



Dashrath Deb, MP



Srikantan, Nair, MP (Kerala)



Indulal Yagnik (Gujarat)

MARCH 18, 1962

#### From Our Special Correspondent =

It was a memorable night at Jamshedpur-Feb- tion fostered by the Congress tively. They were addressed, ruary 28 when the last election results were amoun-ced. Thousands of people, workers, youth, men and women had assembled on the road below the Sarkar buildings, the headquarters of the Communist Party and the Jamshedpur Mazdoor Union to celebrate the victory of all the four Communist candidates—three from the Assembly and one from the Jamshedpur Parliamentary constituency.

T was the same spot and of young Bihari workers in same time where four years ago Jamsh-dpur workers had plate and Cable Company who ago Jamshedour workers had braved lathic and bullets and the working class martyrs had fallen on May 20, 1958. Today four years later the Jamshedpur working class had avenged its martyrs and was celebrating its victory over the combined might of the Tatas, the Government and the INTIC.

A month ago when the no-

The Congress candidates and the Tatas thought that whatever danger there was of a Communist victory had bee eliminated with the rejection of the nominations of these two beloved leaders of the workers. They thought it will be quite easy for them to de-feat the alternative candidates set up by the Communist Party, namely Ramavatan Singh and Sunil Mukherji.

#### HUMBLED

Things, however, turned out very differently for them. Ramavatar Singh, the Treasurer of the IMII and a member of the Jistrict Exe-cutive Committee of the Comminist Party, who was considered to be little known to the masses at Jamshed-pur won by a thumping ma-jority of more than thirteen thousand votes, polling more than the combined total of all the other candidates in the field.

Sunil Mukherji won by a comfortable majority of over four thousand votes defeating tary of the INTUC Tata Work-

Dr. Udayal ar Misra, the Vice-President of the JMU, RESOUNDING defeated Barayan Mukherji, the General Secretary of the VICTORY Bihar INTUC, by about twenty thousand votes in the election to the Parliament and Basta Soren, Vice President of the Copper Workers Union, Mau-bhandar, annexed the reser-ved seat for the Scheduled

The Tata Company had claimed that the 1957 victory of Keder Des from Jamshed pur Constituency was a "flu-ke". Many others had thought that repression following the glorious 1952 strike had brokn the back of the workers.

Four hundred workers discharged in the TISCO, the greater part of the Tatanagar Foundary workers retrenched people coved down by mass arrests, dismissals and prosecutions and the INTUC Tata Workers Union remaining the sole recognised union—did not all this show that the Communists had misled the work-

Moreover, Jamshedpur had seen the influx of thousands

leaders. They saw that their leaders who were out of jail only for about a year were again going to jail for four vears because they had dared to raise their voice

#### BIG ADVANCE

And a few days before polling the swing of the workers was unmistakable. Kedar Das and other leadplate and Cable Company who had come to Jamshedpur after 1958 and they were amenable to appeals made in the name of caste, language and proers of the Communist Party used to be mobbed by drowds of welcoming men, women and children whentackled by setting up an orga-nisation under the name of Himayatul Islam headed by ever they went to the bus-tee areas and Adivasi wo-men accorded Kedar Das the

apart from the victorious and other people residing in candidates, by Yogindra Sharthe Mango area who sufferma, secretary of the Bihared from lack of water supply Committee of the Party, Kedar and of municipal amenities Das, All Amiad and Satyato Jugsalai people were some narain Singh. In these meet-ings the problems before the people were reviewed and people told what the Commu-nist legislators will be doing. In Jamshedpur, in the trade union field two pro-

blems immediately faced the workers—reinstatement of the discharged workers and the recognition of the trade unions and a united move-ment to place the demands of the workers before the Steel Wage Roard, Kedar Das advanced the slogan of the strengthening of the

The problem of the workers

In Ghatsila the Adivasi nea santry had woken up for the first time and was pressing for the solution of its manifold problems. Basta Soren promised to fight for them. Restoration of the forest rights, payment of compensation for the land acquired for the National Highway which nas been withheld for years, restoration of cultivated land in the forest area establishment of schools in Beneall.

## A month ago when the nomination papers of Kedar Das Fresident of the Jamshedpur Mazdoor Union and All Amjad, the General Secretary, had been rejected because of the four years conviction in the Jamshedpur Conspiracy case, The Constant eircles went

called a conference of all the Muslim social and literary organisations and promptly issued an appeal to the voters to vote Congress.

The Muslim voters

The Bengali voters were threatened with dire consequences if they voted Communist and there was no dearth of lavish promises and "contributions" made to cluss and societies by the Congress candidates.

The discharged workers of 1958 were promised their jobs back if they worked for the Congress candidates and on the eve of polling the Com-pany goondar started raids on the quarters of the discharged workers

Combined with all this was the one slogan which united all the candidates—the Con-gress, the PSF and the Swatantraite against the Communist Party—the Commu-nists are Chinese agents! On the polling day hundreds of taxis piles to carry Congress voters to the booths. Money flowed like water and there could not be any dearth of it with the Tata Company taking the lead and all other Companies following with handsome unofficial contributions to the Congress candidates and even to those who were expected to split Com-

The resonnding victory of the Communist candidates against these heavy odds was a tribute to the maturity of the Jamshedpur working class. They knew that the Communist Party had a set of dedicated cad-res who could not be crushed by repression and who could not be purchased by

They had seen that the Communists so to the Assem-ly and the Parliament to carry on the struggl their rights before the higher ment at Jamshedpur had won important victories and made significant gains which were impossible otherwise.

They also knew that in a metropolitan city like Jamshedour it was only the Comtraditional tribal welcome washing his feet when he entered the bustee.

There was not a single com-munity—Bihari, Bengali, Ori-ya, Adivasi, Harijan, Chhattisgarhi and Muslims-whose majority did not vote Com-munist. A lesson to the caste-ridden Congress was the fact that Ramayatar Singh nolled kherji polled the overwhelming majority of Bihari votes in thir respective constituen-

The victory of Basta Soren in the reserved seat of Ghat sila was symptomatic of the new shift that is taking place among the Santhal peasantry. The Adivasi masses had lost their faith in the Jharkhand Party leadership and the Congress was trying to woo them by its usual me-

However, in Basta Sore the Communist Party had a candidate, who had not only emerged as the most respected leader of the Santhal peasantry but an Adivasi leader, who could and act-ually had fought equally for the linguistic and other rights of the Bengali and Oriya peasantry. He also led the workers of

the Copper Factory and mines in Manubhandar and Musabani, who acted as the vanthe Communist Party to far off villages. Here again it was the role of the Communist Party in leading the struggles of the peasanty and the working class and of uniting -that swung the voters in its favour.

Dr. Udayakar Misra, the Party's candidate for the Jamshedpur Parliamentary constituency, not only got a majority of votes in the three Assembly constituencies where Communist candidates, were contesting but also in the two constituencies of Baharagors and Saraikella.

One of the major factors working for the Communist Party candidate was that the workers of Jamshedpur wherever they were in the villages, were active cam-paigners of the Red Flag.

Two victory rallies were held

NEW AGE

drive.
There were other problems

like those of the teachers of Jamshednur and the continuity of their service and grades of pay after the Company schools were taken over by the Government.

JMU and a membership third General elections mark-ed the maturity of the workthe beginning of a new awak-ening in the peasantry of Dal-bhum, particularly among the Adivasis. The Red Flag has taken deep roots am

## Leader "Elected"

#### From Our Patna Correspondent

SECTION 144 was imposed all over the town for the day. Armed constables paraded the streets and guarded the residence of important Congress leaders. Patna wore the appearance of a town in a state of siege. It was March 7, the day different direction. on which the Congress Party in the Bihar Legislature was to meet and

It marked the low depth to which factional struggle inside the Congress had degenerated. The two factions gave the impression of two armed camps lite rally, with their headquiters manned by toughs.

Thousands of persons had been brought to Patna during the two previous days—people who could manipulate physical as well as moral pressure on the newly elected legislators according to the exigencles of the situation.

On those days no khadi lad person could pass the - Bailev Gardiner Road Road area of Patna but was accosted and surrounded by agents and toughs of the two sides. They used to pounce upon them.

Guards were kept near the house of leaders by each rival faction to prevent their respective supporters or even vacillators

One of the contestants for the leadership was vir-tually hounded out from near the quarters of a lady MLA whom he had cone to

had to leave in his car in a hurry for fear of a scandal

An M.A who had quietly and somewhat suddenly emerged at the gate of the chief Minister's residence in an attempt to enter it was promptly caught hold of by a gang who forced him to follow them in a

One other MLA in a similar predicament managed to telephone to the police and was reported to have been rescued by the Dis-trict Magistrate. But one legislator was successfully kept under surveillance till the last and was prevented from attending the Legis-lative Party meeting.

Such was the meeting which atulya Ghosh, the Centre's observer, reported had "unanimously" elected its leader destined to be the Chief Minister of the

The unanimity was a facade behind—which the contest took place giving the present Chief Minister Pandit Binodanand Jha a majority of fiftyfive over his rival Krishna Ballabh Sahay.

This contest and all that went with it has left a had taste in the mouth. Some Congressmen in Bihar as well as come at the Centre are trying for a composite cabinet to be formed in this state.

By the time these lines appear in print the com-position of the new cabinet will have been appounced Congress has reached depths from which it can

PAGE THREE

There are the enemies of disarmament, who hope to fatten on the gigantic surpluses of a war-based economy and who still hope to somehow browbeat the socialist camp and the neutralists by atomic brandishment. With them the question is not of dialogue but of irresistable pressure.

HERE are also sceptics, demand which was not offset not necessarily ill-inten-ed people—and leaders of spending". ples—who cast doubt on The experts said that "the tioned people-and leaders of . peoples—who cast doubt on the possibility of disarma-ment, apart from looking askance at times on its uti-

Their contention is that imperialism is too strong not to be able not to retain—and employ—all the weapons it. wants. All the other clamou about the inherent militaristic character of imperialism has never really been the subject

#### **Imperialism** Retreats

Is this assumption sound? Is it not really a hangover or an outmoded approach to imperialism? Imperialism has not changed its character but it has proved fully feasible to force it to retreat, to abandon close on 75 per cent of its colonial possessions in less than 15 years.

Above all, right at the very doorstep of the most powerful imperialism in the world Cuba has been possible.

Surely, it cannot be said that imperialism prefers arms to colonies. On the contrary among the reas for its enormous arsenal is its colonialist desires. Thus, there is nothing inherent and inevitable about armaments. It is a question of the balance of forces around the

Then the argument is adwanced—oddly enough by the most rabid of imperialists and the most "ultra" of "anti-imperialists"—that disarmament would unleash the forces of chaos and crisis in the capitalist countries, and, hence, is impossible to achieve so long as capitalism exists.

Here again, let it be stated that nobody minimises the extent to which the fate of pnomies of imperialist countries is linked up with the arms race. But, a ten-nation group of experts established by the U. N. General Assembl armament today officially dismissed fears that economic chaos would follow world-wide disarmament" (Reuter, March 11). This was its "unanimous

Let it be noted that the experts came from the Soviet Union, Czecheslovakia, Poland. ndia, USA, U.K., France, Pakistan, Venezuela and Sudan. Such a composite group's ly entitled to be treated with very great respect.

"Assuming complete and rapid disarmament, the group said it was unani-mously of the view that all the problems and difficulof transition could be met by appropriate national and international mea-

The report said that "the dustrialised countries with a private enterprise system to maintain alde ad blu effective economic demand in the face of disarmament without too much difficulty.

"Monetary and fiscal policy could be used to counter the effect of any shortfall in total

conversion from the economy of World War II to peace-time conditions was a much larger one and involved a more rapid transfer of resour ces than total disarms would require at present".

In contrast to the slight

edge of anxiety in the per-suasion regarding capitalist economies the economists economies the economists were, again unanimously, of the view that "in the socia-list economies, maintenance of effective demand while reducing military expendi-ture, would be simply a mat-ter of the efficiency of planning techniques. Effective demand, therefore, could be readily maintained". A revelation as to the potentia-lities and problems of the

This possibility again depends for its emergence on a shift in the balance of forces and the only relevent dis-cussion today—as the Geneva

USSR and the explosion of USSE and the explosion of a fifty-megaton bomb pro-hably strengthened Ken-nedy's campaign against the Ultras for, though it doubt-less increased the ardour with which many of them demanded a show-down demanded a show-down with the USSR, that is a preventive nuclear war, it also greatly increased the general awareness of the catastrophic cas u a l t i e s which would result from successful retaliation by even a very few undestroyed Soviet nuclear missiles

report from Bermuda on December 22 last: "It is now privately admitted at the Pentagon that the U.S. can no longer hope to impose its will on any nuclear battle

But the Soviet Union has not used its greatly enhanced military might to extort "con-cessions" but only to impose negotiations. Take the latest examples.

neva Conference Gromyko wrote to the U. N. Secretarynuclear weapons, as provided Already the propaganda cry for in the General Assembly's has gone up that there can be

closest possible touch with most powerful ploy of the the proceedings and themsel- Western side will be their in-

generate into a purely rou-tine meeting, as the West

It is a matter of great pleasure that Pandit Nehru responded so quickly and favourably to the Soviet Leader's proposal that the Heads of Government should give personal attention to the various problems which will be encountered as the parleys commence.

#### West's Strategy

In face of these promising prospects what is the counter-strategy being worked up by the Western imperialists?

Their main objective seems to be to divert the Geneva Conference from the main job that it has to perform—work General warmly welcoming Conference from the main job the convocation of an inter—that it has to perform—work national conference to sign a out a plan for complete and convention banning the use of

ves proceed to Geneva at an alstence that there can be no appropriate time. ropriate time. disarmament without ade-Khrushchov's series of quate controls. Their case, in letters have ensured that a nutshell, is to first work out the utmost importance in-vests in the Geneva Confer-inspection of existing armaence and that it cannot de- ments and then proceed to disarmament. It can be quite accurately categorised as a plan for espionage."

> Blackett, in his article, has made the very telling point that as the Soviet Union is relying on a minimum dete rent and would quite clearly not be the first to strike, it is essential that its retaliators capacities and missile sites be kept strictly secret. Espionage would clearly pave the way to aggression.

He states "if a detailed study of this document (the Western inspection propo-sals) is made, it is clear that the process of setting up and operating the proposed international inspection tem might conceivably have served to reveal the location of some, at least, of the Soviet missile sites. At any rate, it would be very hard to convince a military staff officer of any nation that this pos negligible."

## DISARMAMENT PROSPECTS

Conference assemble to effect this shift.

Let us begin by emphasising

First, it meets on the basis of a clear directive—the main principles of general and complete disarmament passed by the U. N. General Assembly by the U. N General Assembly on December 24, 1961. A broad framework of discussion, commonly accepted, is, thus, avail. able, unlike on the previous occasions.

Secondly, the Conference is composed of representatives of all the three main international trends. It is not a matter, therefore, of the mere confrontation of two opposing trends as before but of a clash in front of an audience, which is also a participant.

The neutralist nations have not the least need for arma ments nor the naivete to be bluffed by subterfuges. They will judge on the merits of the case and be impelled by the need to abolish arms.

## Soviet

It is significant that it was the Soviet Union which pressed for the enlargement of the disarmament body to include the neutralist nations. And precisely for the reason outlined above.

Thirdly, the Conference neets in the background of an enormous increase in Soviet armed strength as well as of a series of Soviet diplomatic initiatives.

. P. M. S. Blackett writes in New Statesman (March 2) that the recent Soviet atom tests "have certainly reduced to some extent the relative weakness of the Soviet nuclear deployment compared with that of America, and have thus tended to make the balance more stable.

"On balance, the resump-tion of nuclear tests by the

## MOHIT SEN

\*\*\*\*

resolution of November 24,

On the same date (March 10) the Soviet Foreign Min-ister wrote to U Thant that "the Soviet Union is prepared to assume an obliga-tion not to turn over nuclear weapons or information leading to its production to other countries, provided the United States, Britain and France assume identical obligations".

In this connection Gromyko once again advanced the idea "that the further spread of nuclear weapons could be prevented by an agreement under which definite geogra-phic areas would be made free from the production and stationing of these weapons of mass destruction."

To emphasise the defensive nature of Soviet atomic power not much more can be added to the following considered opinion of P. M. S. Blackett: "If the Washington figures for the Soviet nuclear strength are valid, it is clear that the USSR has planned for a purely retaliatory nuclear role, and has definitely not planned for a surprise attack on the American delivery system".

All those who talk glibly of the "similarities" in the positions and postures of the Big Two should carefully read the detailed and brilliant article of this foremost of British

tomic weapons' experts.
Fourthly, the Geneva Conference meets after a regular barrage by Khrushchov on the urgency of the issues it has to tackle. The Soviet Premier's proposal for a Su start was not accepted. But a definite commitment has been made that the Heads of Gov-hibition. ernment will keep in the

no disarmament without the creation of a "psychology of confidence". And this can only be created, we are told, if certain controversial interna tional issues are first settled. Like Berlin. Or South Viet-Nam. This from the Powers that have consistently refused to budge an inch to bring settlement nearer on either of these two vexed issues!

It is quite clear that the socialist as well as the neutralist states will refuse to trainst states will request to fall a prey to this provocation. While not refusing to discussing these problems, with the Foreign Ministers the symbols of the combasis. being present, the emphasis will surely be that the blems themselves will become less intractable once a start is made with disarma-Another line of Western at-

Another line of Western at-tack will be to counterpoise the banning of nuclear tests to the solution of the more complex problem of general disarmament. Crude black-mail has also been attempted with the Western threat to resume atmospheric atomic weapons' tests in the Pacific. To this the Soviet Union To this the Soviet Union has already prepared its answer. It has stated that all possibilities exist for the conclusion of an agreement on the stopping of nuclear to without delay, which would be based on the use of opportu-nities provided for by modern

science. On November 28, 1961, 1t advanced the proposal that an agreement be signed on the banning of tests in the atmosphere, under water and in outer space, the control of which could quite easily be ensured with the help of national means of detection.

As for underground tests, the States would have to undertake not to carry out such explosions until coming

forcibly put by Khrushchov. He has declared his readiness to accept any system of controls or inspection proposed by the imperialist powers provided they accept the Soviet proposals on dis-armament. In essence, the Soviet stand

on the question of controls has been that it must be related to the exact degree of disarmament that is being contemnia. ted, no more and no less. That is why in its three-phased plan for complete disarma-ment in four years, it has proposed similarly phased in-spection and control mea-

### Role

It is particularly at this point that the neutralist nations, can, perhaps, make their greatest contribution, i.e., on the question of the powers and the composition of the control bodies, the neutralist nations could make fertile suggestions. It is at this point that they could compel the West to break the deadlock it has itself created.

The Soviet Union has pro-

wers can scarcely afford to reject this proposal—that part of the resources releas the process of disarmament should be utilised for renderassistance to the underdeve-

assistance to the underdeve-loped countries.

It has gone on to insist that the share of resources earmarked for rendering such assistance should be stipulated in the treaty, on general and complete dis

If the neutralist nations act with wisdom and vigour at Geneva, in alliance with the to an agreement on the control system on their final prohibition.

And, of course, the final and From SHARMA

E. M. S. Namboodiripad declared at Trichur that if the same yardstick that was used by the Congress leaders to measure the so-called "mass upsurge" against the Communist Government during the liberation movement could be used to measure the popular discontent against the present Government in the State, as was evidenced by the Congress-P.S.P. debacle in the Parliamentary elections, the Coalition had no right to continue.

AY I submit to the Prime Minister", Com. Namboodiripad asked "that there is a mass verdict against the present Ministry and in the context of his earlier advice, is it not necessary for the Congress-P.S.P. coalition to seek a fresh mandate from

Namboodiripad was explaining the resolution adopted at the two-day session of the State Council at Trichur, The meeting of the State Council of the Communist Party con-vened on March 7 at Trichur.

It adopted a resolution of condolence on the death of Ajoy Ghosh, the General Secretary of the Party.

By another resolution the Party condemned the act of

stone throwing indulged by certain elements against the Chief Minister Pattom Thanu The Council examined the

results of the recent parlia-mentary poll and the apprai-sals and views expressed by various political and party leaders of the State

The Council that the results of the elec-tions are a clear verdict of the people against the two ld coalition Government in Kerala and the policy of continued neglect and discrimination that the Central Government was towards Kerala adopting during the First, Second and Third Five Year Plans.

arithmetical acrobatics with electoral figures.

#### Stark Realities

laid down that the term of a legislature formed after an legislature formed after an election is five years and that a majority party can run its full term of five years if it has a majority in the legislature.

Secondly, Prime Minister

Neither leaders of the Ke-rala Pradesh Congress Com-mitee, nor of the Praja Socialist Party have come forward to recognise and accept this reality. They are attempting to escape from the task of bowing before the will of the people by bringing forward lame arguments such as that the Lok Sabba elections results had no bearing on the continuation of a State Government and by indulging in

The Council desires to point out that there are stark realities which the efforts of these gentlemen cannot hide.

First, our constitution has

Nehru throwing to winds this clear constitutional provision elaborated a new principle in 1959. And that party had turned against that party subsequently, fresh elections could be held

Apart from this the Con-

COALITION GOVERNMENT direct action against a Gov-ernment that "had lost popu-lar support" and they still

port or otherwise of that

It was in the name of this principle that the Communist Government was dismissed in July 1959 and the mid-term elections ordered in February Government.

Thirdly, the present Coalition Government came to power through and as a result of that midterm poll. The leaders of the Coalition Government had declared during the recent elections that this election was an opportunity for the people to pronounce a clear verdict on their two year old rule here.

gress and P.S.P. contested the Lok Sabha elections together as partners in contrast to other States where they fought against each other. This was another factor that made State politics the issue in the Lok Sabha

Fourthly, the percentage of votes that the Congress and P.S.P. cou'd secure on the basis of their coalition is 44.14 per cent which is 10 per cent less than what they secured

that to argue in the face of the aforesaid considerations the aforesaid considerations that the results of the present Lok Sabha poll and the continuation of the State Government have no relation whatsoever is undemocratic to say the least.

If Prime Minister Nehru and the leaders of the Congress High Command approve this stand of the Congress-PSP leaders here, they will be guilty of the crime of applying different and contradictory stand-ards to Congress and Com-munist Governments and practising discrimination against the Communist Government and the Com-

KERALA TURNS AGAINST

#### Guilty Congress

The Kerala Congress leaders and their allies of Prime Minister Nehru organised a "direct action struggle" in January 1959 against the Communist Government which, according to them, had lost "the support of the majority of the people".

manist Party as such.

The Communist Party then and today holds the view that what they did was immoral, wrong and unconstitutional.

The quetstion of organising "a direct action" to force the present coalition to quit office is, therefore, farthest from the thoughts of the

in the 1960 mid-term poll. In the matter of seats, they have been reduced to a minority of only six out of 18.

But the State Council or Communist Party desire to point out that the conduct of the leaders of the Congress in continuing to and FSP in continuing to stick to office in the fact of the reality that both in votes and seats they have been reduced to a minority is unjus-tifiable on any ground and that especially when they were the architects of the

justify the propriety morality of their action. The State Council by another resolution urged the Government to hold a judicial enquiry into the charges of corruption raised against several Ministers of the State Government. The resolution condemned the attitude of the Government which while

refusing to clear the Minis-

ters by an enquiry had laun-

ched prosecution proceedings against four Communist

dailies.

The State Council adopted a rousing appeal to all political parties to approach the forthcoming elections to the 823 Panchayats in the State on a non-party basis with a view to keeping the administration of civic bodies away from the political and party strife.

The Communist Party, the resolution added, would strive its utmost to arrive at an un-derstanding among parties and non-party individuals and form a broad front pledged to run the civic be a democratic way in the best interests of the common people. The Council directed the District Councils of the Party to take active steps in this regard.

The election of 7.733 mem. bers for 923 Panchayats in the State are to take place on 21, 24 and 28 of May. The last date of nomination is April 17.

WEST BENGAL'S CALL...

## STRENGTHEN LEFT UNITY

The first mass rally, held in Calcutta after the mofussil areas, where the elections on March 10 under the auspices of the United Left Front (ULF), was attended by 25,000 people. Hemanta Basu MLA (FB), presided. Among those who addressed the gathering were Jyoti Basu (CPI), Leader of the Opposition, Tridib Chowdhury, MP (RSP), Amar Basu (Marxist FB), Hemanta Basu, Anadi Das (RCPI) and Nepal Bhattacharya (Bolshevik Party).

THE leftist leaders said the statement issued by the that it was true that their United Left Front on March 6. objective of ousting the Congress from power had not gress from power nad not been realised; but the tall the spontaneous demonstraclaims of the Congress that it tion of jubilation by the people, he asked. had won a "resounding" vic-tory in the elections were baseless. They stressed that the Congress had succeeded in securing the majority by adopting heinous tactics and

The meeting observed one minute's silence to pay ho-mage to the hallowed me-mory of Ambica Chakravarty, one of the leaders of the historic Chittagong Armoury Raid. He died on March 6 a result of a street accident.

Addressing the gathering, Jyoti Basu said that it was a misfortune for the people of misfortune for the people of West Bengal that an alternative Gozernment had not been formed. But the Congress claim of having won a thumping" victory was not borne out by facts. In support of his contention he quoted the facts and figures given in

MARCH 18, 1962

If the Congress had really "The victory celebration held by the Pradesh Con-

gress Committee on this very Maidan on March 3. was attended by about 7,000 people, many of whom were brought in trucks. Compare that meeting with to-day's vast gathering and you will realise who have the mass support behind them", he

Pointing out that the ULF did not minimise the serious setbacks suffered by the de-mocratic forces in Calcutta, Howrah and 24-Parganas districts, he analysed the causes

He said that in the light of the experiences of the 1957 elections they had concen-

Congress had secured a large number of seats.

As regards Calcutta, Howrah and 24-Parganas, they had thought that these areas would spontaneously ULF.

While it remained complacent, banking mainly on the advanced political conscious-ness of the people of these areas, the Congress concentrated its efforts and resources and resorted to malprac-tices on a scale beyond the boldest imagination of the leftists.

But despite the successes of the Congress in these areas, he further said, it should be borne in mind that quite a number of seats in this en-tire belt were marginal ones, where the ULF candidates lost by margins of less than 1,000 votes. Secondly, in the Lok Sabha seats in Calcutta, the ULF had polled a far larthe ULF had polled a far larthe vote that control of the new lease of life given to the Congress Government would mean mounting sufferings for the people and bigger the ULF had polled a far lar-ger number of votes than the

sides, Jyoti Basu observed gress or the left in the elections, and would continue to might be said that both the Congress and the Left for-

ces had retained the posi-tions they had held before Citing concrete cases of blatant malpractices and

heinous methods adopted by areas would spontaneously the Congress—manipulation rally behind the leftists as in 1957. This was a serious rolment of thousands of non-blunder on the part of the existent voters, false voting on an unprecedented scale, kidnapping of leftist volunteers in the typical fascist manner, lavish expenditure of money and outright buy-ing of voters, open goondaism with the connivance of the with the connivance of the police, etc.—Jyoti Basu said that the ULF was not sufficiently vigulant and had made little organisational preparations to foil these performance.

> He told the gathering that as the ULF had not been able to form a Government, he did not want to raise false hones in the minds of the people. The new lease of life given to

He assured the gathering that the ULF would Summing up the overall ways by the side of the peoposition after balancing the gains and losses of both sides, Jyoti Basu observed gress or the left in the elec-

Pledging to preserve the leftist unity like the apple of our eye, he made an leftist unity like the appre of our eye, he made an impassioned appeal to the people to forge unity in their ranks to stand up

Tridib Chowdhury, RSP leader, said that public opi-nion in Calcutta was still be-bind the left despite the fact that it had lost a number of seats in the City, mainly due to the blatant malpractices on the part of the Congress.

sational preparations. It had thought that the elections would be largely fair and free.

It had not sufficiently taken into account the fact that the battle was a battle for power, though very much limited. The Congress and the worst exploiters of the people supporting it had not taken the ULF's slogan of alternative Government lightheartedly.

Referring to instances of goondaism by the Congress he said that the attempts of the Congress to introduce Tammany Hall tactics or the methods employed by fascist thugs in public life would be firmly resisted by the people

NEW AGE

PAGE FOUR

MARCH 18, 1962

The new State Assembly of Assam that has been elected in this general election has a weaker Opposi-tion than before, though the ruling party has been able to gain only three more seats than it had in the House after the second general election. Two Coagress Ministers of Assam have been defeated, one of them in a Brahmaputra valley district and the other in the United Khasi-Jaintia Hill district.

HE PSP which had eight six seats now: but its leader Who is also the State chief of the party has been defeated. The RCPI could retain its lone

#### PARTY . POSITION

The final party position in the 105 member Assam As-sembly is as follows: Congress 79; PSP six; Hill Leaders' Con-ference 11; RCPI one and the rest are all Independents numbering eight.

Of these Independents one

is the general secretary of the Nikhil Assam Banga Bhasa-Bhasi Samiti that stands for recognition of Bengali as an lternate State language of the whole State. Except this the Samiti is not known to have any other programme—political or economic.

Another Independent memformer President of the Sil-char District Congress Committee, who was suspended for his role in the language agita-tion in that district in 1961 and who resigned his Congress membership to contest against the official Congress candi-

Being a non-Bengali himself, he claimed he had "socrificed" for the cause of Bengali language and his electorate showed its gratitude by electing him with overwhelming

majority of votes.
One of the Independent members elected from a valley district was in fact a "dummy" for one of the stalwarts of the anti-Ministerial group of the Assam Congress, according to competent observers.

The Congress has retained its nine seats in the Lok Sabha from Assam; though it lost one of its seats to a PSP candidate, it wrested one from another sitting PSP member. The PSP also could retain the two seats it had, though con-ceding one to the Congress and gaining another from the

The Communist Party not only could not secure any seat. It has lost all its existing four seats in the State Assembly including the Gaunati seat that the Party held since-the first general election.

The Socialsit Party (Lohia) could not secure any seat; it had no seat in the outgoing

The Swatantra Party did not put up any candidate of its own; it is a constituent of but none of those elected on the ticket of the Hill Leaders' Swatantra Party group. The four seats could not secure any; it had none in the out-

going Assembly also.
Till the time of writing no authoritative assessment of the election result by any of the parties is available. But political observers, analysing the result, point out that the result has belied their earlier forecast in many respects.

They maintain that

though the openly branded the Jana Sangh and the extreme reactionaries like the Swatantra could not

gram Parishad that initiated the language agitation in that district in 1961, as well as those who were in the Shanti Parishad that conducted the counter-movement, believed to be sponsored by the Govern-

ent. The result shows that in areas where the said two groups were not locked in a fight the Congress candidate had an easy time.

Of the three Congress leaunder disciplinary action for their role in the language movement of that district, one has been defeated by his erstwhile colleague who was one of the top leaders of the Sangram Parishad; another has been elected to the Lok Sabha.

## It is pointed out in support of this contention that the Congress itself far from com-

#### DISTRICTS

The third was denied the Congress ticket, following which he resigned from the Congress and fought against some 30 members of the anti-Ministerial group have been elected. This group of the official Congress nominee and won the seat with a big margin. Likewise, one of the top leaders of the Shanti Parithe Assam Congress made communalism, mainly an anti-Muslim campaign, its shad was also victorious

major election plank. The Ministerial group on the other hand did not combat

defeated, they should rally behind the Congress.
It is significant that it was

he Congress that created the fear in the mind of a section of non-tribal voters saying that if the Communist candidate should become victorious it would "estrange the rela-tion between the Khasis and the Bengalis".

On the basis of the fore-

going analysis of voting trend, political observers here maintain that it was because the Communist Party could not rally the majority behind its slogan of all-out unity of the people, against all shades of disruptive slogans, that it falled to win even a single

seat.
It is also said that while the Party has been able to retain its main base it could not ex-tend its political influence wide enough to win any seats

Other factors contributing to the victory of the Con-gress, according to compe-tent observers, are the deli-berate negligence of the constituencies from where Opposition members were elected, utilisation of official Opposition members power by the ruling party for its partisan ends, the ruling party's control of a large number of village

ed in the current struggle for ed in the current struggle for party leadership. There were at least two contestants for the leadership of the ruling party, besides the outgoing Chief Minister Chaliha himaccording to informed circles was a stalwart of the Chalibs group itself. This aspirant for the party leadership is report-ed to have visited New Delhi to sound the High Cor about the possibility of his getting the support of the High Command

But with the High Command coming out in his fav-our Chaliha romped home. The Hill Leaders' Confer-

ence which is now by far the biggest non-Congress group returned to the Assembly will meet here shortly to decide its

the meeting a delegation of the Conference will go to Delhi to tell the Prime Minister that the election result has proved that the Conference enjoys the con-fidence of the majority of the tribal people and hence the Prime Minister must now deal with them to decide the future administrative setup of the auto-nomous Hill districts of

## ASSAM-GHAUVINISTS WIN

communal and chauvinist the language trends, it utilised these con-that district. veniently from another In the Hi angle. Wherever the Congress conceded to other gress conceded to other elements, it was because the other side outdid the Congress in communal and chauvinist campaign.

secure any seat, the trend

of voting was "overwhelm-ingly dominated" by the pull

communalism from the grip of which large sections of people could not be freed by secular democratic forces. The victory of the Congress

also, according to these observers, does not signify the yictory of secular, democratic forces of the

bating these trends, made liberal use of these in their

campaign which was confined mainly to individual and

group discussion and seldom

came out in the open.

unity of the people

#### **CONGRESS FACTIONS**

Moreover, it is pointed out that in some cases a section of Congressmen themselves helped the victory of non-Congress elements which happened to e more vigorous champions of communal or chauvinist

For instance, one PSP candidate for the Lok Sabha was elected, defeating the Congress rival though from all the Assembly constituencies com-prising that Lok Sabha constituency Congress candidates were elected. The Congress candidate who was a defeated here happened to be a Muslim, belonging to the Ministerial group, while the PSP candi-date who secured the seat is a Hindu.

Significantly enough, this area happens to be under the influence of the anti-Ministe-rial group. Likewise, the sit-Muslim PSP MP held his seat during the last two terms was defeated this time by a Hindu candidate of

the Congress. It is also considered significant that the sitting PSP member of the Lok Sabha from Kamrup was elected defeating the Congress rival, though from the As-sembly constituencies fall-ing within this donstituency the Congress was overthe Congress was over-whelmingly victorious. This victorious PSP member, it is pointed out, played a more militant role in the linguis-tic outburst of 1960 than even his party chief of the

State. In Cachar the Congress nominations accommodated those who sided with the San-

In the Hill districts, the Congress was supposed to face the electorate with the slogan of the Scottish pattern of autonomy as against the demand for a Hill State, which was the election plank of the Hill Leaders' Conference, the main contestant of the Congress in these districts.

In practice, the Congress cared little to meet the arguments of the Conference. Instead, to the tribals they said that the Scottish pattern of autonomy was a step towards a Hill State, while to the non-tribals they said that they were fighting against Hill State.

The overwhelming majority f the tribal people in three of the tribal people in three of the four autonomous Hill districts were swayed by the slogan of Hill State the pro-tagonists of which secured 11 out of 15 seats in the State Assembly from these districts as also the Lok Sabha seat from areas covering two of the autonomous districts.

In Shillong, the only general constituency in the Hill dis-tricts where the non-tribal voters constitute nearly two-thirds of the total electorate, Hill Leaders' Conference, there was also a Communist candi-

Though the Communist programme created some amount of interest, it could not rally The non-tribal voters, among whom at one stage there was a palpable swing towards the Communist candidate were ultimately influenced by the overwhelming rally of the tribal voters behind the Con-

A big section was seized with a fear that if they stood against the majority of the tribals here, they might become victims of tribal fanaticism; while another section of nontribals felt that if the Hill

good political dividend. Besides, it is pointed out that the Conference will be to accept the Nehru could put up a united fight against the Congress the result might have been a little better for the former.

Though the Congress has been returned to power with a larger number than before, the inner factional fight of the ruling party continues to Hindi. the ruling party continu

to accept the Nehru proposal of Scottish pattern of autonomy if their stand on State

The Conference is opposed to Assamese as the State language and want English to guage until it is replaced by

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CONCLUDING SPEECH AT THE 22nd CONGRESS OF THE CPSU by N. S. Khrushchov

NEW AGE

## Congress-Double Standards

One of the serious charges levelled against the Communist Party and its Government by Congress leaders was that it was applying two standards—one in relation to Communists and other to the rest of the population.

gress leaders are dealing with the situation that has developed in Kerala after the recent elections to Lok Sabha show unmistakably that it is they themselves, not the Communist Party, that should legitimately be charged with applying "double standards".

It was no less a person than Prime Minister Nehru who raised the demand for "midterm election" in Kerala in 1959. That demand was not justified by any constitutional provision, since, constitution-ally, legislature once elected has the term of five years and the Ministry is entitled to rule the State as long as it enjoys

The then Ministry of Kerala had the full confidence of legislature, the majority it commanded was so firm that the Opposition had not dared to move a single non-confi-dence motion during the 27months of the existence

#### ``Liberation"Struggle"

That demand was, never-theless, made on the ground that, though the Ministry continued to enjoy the confidence of legislature, it did not enjoy the confidence of Communist Party in 1957 had shifted their allegiance and had ranged themselves aga-inst the Government headed by that Party

It was on this political ground, rather than on constitutional grounds that the Prime Minister, claiming himself to be true democrat, suggested the method of another appeal to the electorate.

Our Party apprehended that this yardstick would be appli-ed only to non-Congress Gov-ernments. It would not be applied to Congress Governapplied to Congress Governments when it was conclusively proved that considerable sections of people had shifted their allegiance away from that Government in between two General Elections. We two General Elections. We were afraid that the Congress would behave in a manner as to be faced with the very charge of "double standards" which its leaders had levelled against us.

Less then three years later. it is now clear that the Con-gress leaders have no use for the principle which they had laid down in order to ren our Government from office.
For, it has now been unmistakably proved that a big

chunk of people who had voted for the Congress-PSP Government has now shifted their allegiance from it. even at the Centre, are reported to have taken the view that this Government has a right to, and should, continue for the balance of its full term of five years.

Let us recall in this connection that the mid-term elec-tions held in February 1960 made it clear that the political argument advanced by the Prime Minister in June 1959 Prime Minister in June 1959 had no basis in reality. Not

THE way in which Con- only did the Communist Party only did the Communist Party maintain its position as the biggest single party in Kerala—a position which it had at-tained in 1957—but it increased its voting strength from about 40 to about 44 per cent.

On the other hand, the recent Lok Sabha electio made it clear that, during the last two years, there has been a real shift of public opinion away from the Congress and

The present Government came to power on the wave of a Statewide anti-Communist hysteria worked up for the Congress and its friends all over the country, particu-larly in Kerala. The atmos-phere generated by it enabled them, at that time, to secure over 53 per cent of the votes

The present Lok Sabha elections, however, have brought the voting strength of the Congress and the PSP down to 44 per cent—this being incidentally about the same percentage as polled by the Communist Party and ependents supported by the Party in 1960

On the other hand, votes polled by the Communist Party and its allies (RSP and three Independent candidates) almost reached 50 per cen (actual percentage 49.43).

These figures would go to show that, if the principle laid down in June 1959, when there was said to be a per-ceptible shift of public opinion against the ruling party, were to be strictly applied, the Congress High Command should instruct their collea-gues in Kerala to resign and arrange for a mid-term elec-

Particularly great is the res-consibility of the Prime Minister in this regard since it was he who raised the demand for a mid-term election in 1959.

#### Nehru's Task

It was he, therefore, who in reality laid down the principle that the constitutional provision regarding the five-year term for the legislature is subject to the condition that there is no perceptible shift of public opinion away from that Government, Refusal of the High Command to apply that principle now wo lead us to the painful conclusion that the Prime Min-ister himself is not free from the sin of applying double

One would like to wait and watch how the Prime Minister himself reacts to this development, how he justifies nonapplication of the principle he laid down in relation to our Government when it became clearly applicable to the pre-sent Government controlled by his party
In the meanwhile, however,

there are certain arguments which are being advanced by his colleagues of Congress and PSP in Kerala. An examina. tion of these arguments would show not only how bankrupt their political stand is, but how they are prepared to advance even the most base-

recent elections were only for Lok Sabha and that results would not have been the same if elections had simulta been held for the State For, according to him the

issues before the electorate for two elections are different and people do not vote in the same manner. If he firm ly sticks to this position, the only logical course left to him is to prove his contention by now ordering a mid-ter If he does so and in that

election he and his party fare well as he hopes they will, he and his Government can continue for another five years, rather than for three years. He, however, dares not adopt this course, since he is sure that they will be badly defeated. The KPCC President Govin

dan Nair has advanced the argument that the Lok Sabha election has nothing to do with the State legislature, it was an election purely for Lok Sabha.

If that is so, he should

enlighten us on the strange phenomenon as to how two all-India parties, which are fighting against each other for Lok Sabha seats all over

#### By E.M.S. Namboodiripad

the country, came to an electoral alliance in this State.
He does not surely propose

to tell us that his Party had handed over the Badagara seat to Dr. K B. Menon, and three more seats for Dr. Menon's colleagues in order that they may be an accession of strength to Congress in the

Was it not an obvious fear of some agonising reappraisals being made by the PSP in relation to State politics that forced his hands, and the hands of his all-India leaders, to concede these four seats to those who would have taken the same stand on all issues which the "troika" in North Bombay constituency accepted as its political stand?

Whom is the KPCC Pre-sident trying to deceive by denying that division of Lok Sabha seats in Kerala was resorted to by his party, not to strengthen its position in the Lok Sabha, but to maintain its position in Kerala States C. K. Govidan Nair advanc-

ed another peculiar argument. According to him, there is no demand for the resignation of Ministry advanced by any opposition party, including Communists, while there was a big movement for the removal of the Communist Min-One may be permitted to point out that the KPCC Pre-

sident is not exactly speaking the truth. The fact is that while we do not propose to whip up a hysteria of the type which they had whipped up in 1959 against our Govern-ment, while we do not propose to organise the so-called "mass upsurge" leading to sabotage-the verdict of electorate is, according to us, clear and unmistakable.

The only ground on which they can ignore the verdict of the electorate is that they are the limb of the party which rules at the Centre and that, therefore, its will should prevail over the will of the electorate. It was, of course different in 1950 when the will of the Party that ruled at Centre coincided with the will of those who organised violent and subversive activities in Kerala.

Efforts are also being made to prove that though the Con-gress and PSP have together lost in terms of seats, they have not lost much by the way of Votes Refore evamin this argument in detail, le us point out how even on this question of comparative importance as between the numof seats won the Congress and its friends are applying double standards

In relation to the present Third General Election, gressmen talk of the "re-sounding victory" of the Con-gress all over the country. They point out how it has been voted back to power by comfortable majorities both at the Centre and in all States, except two. Behind these figures of overwhelming victory of Congress, however, lies the fact that it has been voted to power on a minority of votes in almost all States.

Let us recall that our Party secured an absolute majority of seats in 1957. It was then that the Congress that the Congress began for the first time to emphasise the importance of votes polled rather than seats secured. They pointed out to us that, though we had a majority of seats, we got them on less than 40 per cent of votes resi than 40 per cent of votes poll-

Again, in 1980, they used the criterion of seats, rather than votes, when it was once again convenient to them. It will be recalled that in the will be recalled that in the Kerala mid-term elections in 1960, the triple alliance secur-ed 75 per cent of the seats, though they had polled be-tween 50 and 55 per cent votes. On the other hand, we secured less than 25 per cent of the seats though we 44 per cent of the votes. This, it was said, was a "crushing blow" to us and a "resounding

#### Wheel Turns

victory" for them

Now again, it appears, the wheel has turned. They have secured only six out of the 13 seats for the Lok Sa just one-third On the other hand, our Party and its allies have together secured ten out of 12 seats secured by the opposition, i.e., five-sixth of the total. They, therefore, have to resort to various tricks of statistics in order to show that they have polled more votes than previously.

Let us readily concede that. in the recent Lok Sabha election, both the CPI-RSP Inde-pendent alliance as well as the Muslim League (two maior opposition groups) gained seats than are warrent

On the other hand, the Congress-PSP alliance secured less seats than are warranted according to the votes polled

We, for our part, would have no objection to take any criterion—the number of seats secured or percent-age of votes polled—if the same criterion was to be applied to all States.

The Communists and their allies secured 49.43 per cent of the votes polled. They are, therefore, entitled only to nine (approximately eight) seats hile the others are to about the same on the basis 44.14 per cent votes polled

which they secured.

However, if this has to be applied in Kerala, it will have to be done in Madras, where Congress got 46.22 per cent of the votes nolled, and between 65 to 70 per cent of seats. In Andhra, it got 47.23 per cent of the votes polled but be-tween 55 to 60 per cent of seats and so on. Are Congressmen prepared for this? Really

#### Absurd Slander

Another argument is that Communist Party and its allies got so many votes and so many seats only because of the stand taken by the Muslim League. The slanderous story has spread that there was a "secret deal" between the Communists and the Mus-lim League for division of seats between them.

It was because of this, the ander goes on, that the Mus lim League got two Lok Sabha seats, rather than one as in 1957 and the Communists and their independents got ten

The abdurdity of this can be seen from the serious fight put up by the Communist Party in the two seats from which Muslim League candidates have been returned. In one of these the League secured the seat only by a margin of seven hundred votes while in other also, the margin was about three thousand.

three thousand.

It would further, be remembered that the Commu-nist Party had offered to the KPCC that there take place negotiations between the representatives of the two parties with a view to prevent the return of League candidates in all the constituencies where such a possibility existed. This offer possibility existed. This other was rejected with contempt by the Congress which had claimed to be only party that is capable of defeating communalism

Voting figures for three Muslim League had contested show that, in one of them, the Communist Party was the first

party.
In the other two, the Muslim League was the first party and the Communist Party second. Nowhere is the Congress stronger than the Communist Party. And yet, its leaders wanted the Communists to give unconditional support to the Congress in order to defeat communation

Our Party does not deny hat the three independents and one RSP candidate whom we supported had also the Support of the Much But the slanderous lie put out by Congress leaders regardi

\* SEE PAGE 12

## COMMUNIST MLAS

1.	Mande Pitchayya (Payakaraopet-SC) (Vizag Dt.)
	Pentakota Venkataramanna (Kondkarla)
3.	Koduganti Govindarao (Anakapalli) "
4.	P. Panasa Ramanna (Anaparthi) (E. Godavari Dt.)
	S. R. Datla (Attili) (W. Godovari Dt.)
	Venka Satyanarayana (Penugonda) "
7.	Karatam Baburao (Polavaram)
8.	Athuluri Sarweswar Rao (Eluru)
9.	Padala Syamasundararao (Achanta-SC) "
10.	
	P. Venkateswarlu (Nandigama) "
12.	G. Bapanayya (Nidumolu-SC)

Vellanki Visheshwar Rao (Mylavaram) P. Sundarayya (Gannavaram) Tammina Potharaju (Vijayawada-North) (Guntur Dt.) P. Koteswara Rao (Peddakakani) 17. P. Venkatasivayya (Vinukonda) 18. Singayya Sudanagunta (Ammanabroli 19. Laxminarayana Choudhary (Chirala)

K. Satyanarayana (Repalle) Tavanam Chenchayya (Santhanuthalapadu-SC) (Santhanuthalapadu-SC)
Naraharisetty Venkataswamy (Paruchuru)
Vemulapalli Sree Krishna (Mangalgiri)
Kanaparthi Nagayya (Guntur-I)
Patibandia Ranganukulu (Addanki)

Swarna Vemayya (Butchireddipalem-SC) (Nellore Dt.)
Guruswamyreddy Kotapati (Kanigiri)
Narayanreddy C. K. (Ioler) (Chittoor Dt.)
Dodda Seetharamayya (Madanapalle) A. P. Vajravelu Chetty (Kuppam) T. Nagi Reddy (Putlur) V. K. Adinarayan Reddy (Gooty) (Anantour Dt.)

(Kurnool Dt.)

Pula Subbayya (Yerragondapalem) C. Vithal Reddy (Narsapur) Ananda Devi Kishan (Medhak) (Medhak Dt.). (Warrangal Dt.) N. Mohan Rao (Ghanapuram) (Khammam Dt.)

A. Venkateshwar Rao (Narsampet)
Mohamed Tahsil (Badrachalam)
K. Butchayya (Burghampad-SC)
P. Suryanarayana (Palvancha) N. Prasada Rao (Paleru-SC) K. L. Narasimha Rao (Yellandu) A. Kamala Devi (Alair) ada Rao (Paleru-SC)

(Nalgonda Dt.) A. Ramchandra Reddy (Bhongir)
B. Dharma Bhiksham (Nalgonda) K. Ramchandra Reddy (R. N. Sriniyasa Reddy (Nakrakal) 48. U. Malsoor (Suryapet-SC)
49. A. Peddulu (Veyarkonda-SC)
50. P. Parvatha Reddy (Peddavoora)
51. A. Gurunath Reddy (Chinnakondur)

#### CPI-SUPPORTED INDEPENDENTS

Vavilala Gopalakrishnayya (Settenpalli) (Guntur Dt.) B. V. I. Narayana (Ongole) K. Venkateswara Rao (Bapatla) E. Subbarao (Kutchinapudi) G. Venkanna (Uravonkonda) Balarami Reddi (Giddalur) (Anantanur Dt.) (Kurnool Dt.) V. Appala Naidu (Parvada) (Vizag Dt.) K. Suryanarayana (Amalapur) N. Satyanarayana Rao (Ramaci (E. Godavari Dt.)

10. M. Veer Raghavulu (Prattipadu) (W. Godavari Dt.) Chitturu Indryya (Tanuku) P. Laxman Rao (Bandar) Pitambar Rao (Luxettipet) (Krishna Dt.) (Adilabad Dt.) (W. Godavari Dt. M. Rama Mohan Rao (Dendluru) Kulashekhar Reddy (Tadpatri)

16. Narsareddy (Penugonda)17. A. Kishanreddy (Karimnagar) (Socialist) Bandari Nagbhushan (Warangal City) (Warangal Dt.) Bandari Nagbhushan (War
 Harinarayan (Nizamabad)

#### GUJARAT

1. Manubhai H. Palkhiwala (Dariyapur) (Ahmedabad Dt.)

#### BIHAR

Pitambar Singh (Kesaria) (Champaran Dt.) Sheobachan Singh (Sonepur) (Saran Dt.) Dr. Bisheshwar Khan (Nalla) (Santhal Parganas Dt.) Ramayatar Singh (Jamshedpur) Sunil Mukherjee (Jugsalai) Basta Soren (Ghatshila-ST) (Singhbhum Dt.) (Monghyr Dt.) Chandrasekhar Singh '(Teghra) Nek Mohammed Akhtar (Dhaka) (Champaran Dt.) (Dharbhanga Dt.) Shahabad Dt.) (Darbhanga Dt.) Suraj Prasad (Nawanagar) Baidyanath Yaday (Harlakha) 12. Rajkumar Porbey (Benipatti East)

#### KARNATAK

1. Gangadhar Namoshi (Gulbarga)
2. Krishna Shetty A. (Mangalore-II)
3. S. Rajagopal (Kolar Cola (Gulgarga Dt. 2. Krishna Shetty A. (Mangalore-II) (
3. S. Rajagopal (Kolar Gold Fields-Pes.)
4. P. Venkatagiriappa (Kolar) (Cont
5. B. P. Kadam (Karwar) pendents (Contested as independents in a Front)

#### MADHYA PRADESH

 Shakir Ali Khan (Bhopal City)
 Bhàirav Bharati (Nagda-Khachrand) (Contested as independent)

## LOK SABHA VOTES-STATE-WISE

DELHI

		ANDHR	<b>4</b>	
Total No. of	Seats:	43 Vot	al Electorate: es Polled: centage of Poll:	1,90,11,417 1,19,05,815 62.62
	No. of Contesting Candidates	Candidate3 Elected	Valid Votes Põlled	Percentage
Congress	43	34	57,09.263	47.95
	(43)	(37)	(49.06,044)	(51.47)
Communist			05.05.010	01.05
Party	20	(0)	25,05,619	21.05 (12.01)
	(11)	(2)	(11,44,811)	(12.01)
		2 PDF)	(10,44,392)	•.
Swatantra	28	, 1	17,75,495	14.91
PSP	1.	<b>–</b> ·	8,287	0.07
	(6)	()	(3,45,418)	(3.63)
Jana Sangh	8	-	1,38.843	1.17
	(1)	(—)	(3 769)	(0.04)
Republican	8		1,14,872	0.96
Independent			*0 FO 400	10.00
and Others	44	.1	16,53,436	13.89

(47)

12

(12)

(3)

(7)

17

(9)

Total No. of Seats:

Party

and Others

PSP

(20,86,939)

.1.19.05.815

Total Now of S	Seats:	5 Vote	torate s Polled entage of Poll:	13,43,640 8,94,120 66.54
	No. of Contesting Candidates	Candidates Elected	Valid Votes Polled	Percentage
Congress	5.	, 5	4,53,174	50.68
	(5)	(5)	(4,40,775)	(54.32)
Communist Party	1		19,135	2.14
	(1)	(—)	(38,236)	(4.71)
PSP	1	_	1,648	0.12
	(1)	( <del></del> )	(28.656)	(3.53)
Jana Sangh	. 5	_	2,92,607	32.66
	(5)	()	(1,59,907)	(19.72)
Independents and Others	16		1,28.756	14.40
	(18)	( <del>``</del> )	(1,43,770)	(17.72)
		,	8 94,920	

#### GUJARAT

ASSAM	orate:	49,34,302	Total No. of Seats: 22 Votes Polled: Percentage of Poll	95,40,943 52,82,677 : 55.37
Votes	Polled: entage of Poll:	24,98,261 50.63	intes intes dates dates	Баде
dates	Votes	ntage	No. of Contesting Candidates Candidates Flocted	Percentage
Candidates Elected	Valld Polled	Percentage	Congress 22 16 27,76,323 (22) (17) (16,03,714)	52.56 (42.37)
9 (9)	11,28,611 (11,34,708)	45.18 (51.68)	Communist	
	1,76.999 (2,35,044) 4,78,099 (4,57.643)	7.08 (10.24) 19.14 (20.00)	PSP 6 1 3,74,810 (3) (—) (2,06,440)  Swatantra 14 4 14,01,400  Jana Sangh 5 — 76,033  Independents	7.10 (5.43) 26.54 1.45
1 (1)	7,14,552 (4,15 2,17)	28.60 (18.10)	and Others 21 1 6,54,111 (21) (5) (18,40,289) 52,82,677	12.35 (48.46) –

No. of Seats:

Party

CPI-backed

Independents

and Others

868

14

(17)

(15)

(9)

(16)

In 1957 elections Communists in Gujarat contested on the ticket of the Maha-Gujarat Janata Parishad.

KFRALA

(9)

(1)

(1)

Votes Polled

Percentage of Poll:

18,95,226

(21,02,887)

19,60,683

(22,67,888)

5,46,621

(4.38.459)

27,485

9.675

5.32,865

(3.61,661)

4 96 429

(8,79 351)

55,28,983

55,28,983 69,14

(34.75)

35.46

(37.48)

9.89

(7.24)

0.68

0.17

10.54

(5.97)

8 93

(14.53)

#### BIHAR

Total No. of Seats:	Electorate: Votes Polled Percentage of Poll:		2,20,58,168 97,74,919 44.31	
No. of Contesting Candidates	Candidates Elected	Valid Votes	Percentage	
Congress 53	39	43,65,139	44.66	
(51)	(41)	(44,50,208)	(44.47)	
Communist Party 16	1	6,34.444	6.49	
(13)	()	(5,02,707)	(5.20)	
PSP 32	2	12,62,105	12.92	
(41)	(2)	(21,65,462)	(21.64)	
Jana Sangh 13		2,31,151	2.37	
(2)	<b>(—)</b>	(7.973)	(0.08)	
Swatantra 43	7	18,10,363	18.52	
Jharkhand 11	3	4,67,338	4.80	
Independents and Others 64	1*	10,03,381	10.24	
(88)*	(10)**	(23,31,526)**	(28.79)	
		97.74.919		

\*Socialist Party \*Includes Thankhand in 1957

•	of Sea	ts:	36		Votes Polled: Percentage of Poll:	
		M B		3	2	_

MADHYA PRADESH

Electorate:

1.58.56.404

Total No. of	Seats:	36	Vote	orate: s Polled: entage of Poll:	1,58,56,404 66,94,315 42.22
	ding ates	ates		Votes	.889
	No. of Contest Candid	Candidates	Elected	Valid V Polled	Percentage
Congress	35	24		26,51,882	39.61
Communisc	(36)	(3	)) : 	(39,57,199)	(52.10)
Party	4.		į.	1,55,815	2.32
	(1)	(	-): .	(31,424)	(0.41)
PSP	19		3	8,24,627	12.32
	(21)	(	-)	(12,25,735)	(16.10)
Jana Sangh	28		3	11,97,935	17.89
	(21)	(	-)	(10,62,936)	(13.96)
Swatantra	- 5			48,864	0.73
Independents			S -		
and Others	68		5**	18,15,192	27.13
	(39)	(	1)	(13,26.928)	(17.43)
				66,94,315	

•Includes votes polled by Homi Daji who contested as an Independent and was elected

•Includes one Socialist and one Ram Rajya Parishad

#### MADRAS

Total No. of S	eats:	Elect 41 Vote	returned uncorate: s Polled; entage ofP oll:	1,82,08,487 1,24,23,746
	No. of Contesting Candidates	Candidates Elected	Valid Votes Polled	Percentage
Congress	41	31	56,22.993	45.26
Communist	(41)	(31)	(50,94,552)	(46.52)
Party -	14	2	12,72,303	10.24
	(13)	(2)	(11,01.238)	(10.06)
DMK	18	7	23,15.610	18.64
PSP	5		1,90,833	1.54
	(7)	()	(3,99,789)	(3.65)
Jana Sangh	1		4,581	0.04
- Independents				1
and Others	73	1**	30,17,426	24.28
	(81††)	(8††)	(43,55,162)	(39.77)
	4		1 24 23 748	•

One Forward Bloc

#### MAHARASHTRA

Total No. of	Beats:	44 Votes Polled: 1,11, Percentage of Poll:			
	No. of Contesting Candidates	Candidites Elected	Valid Votcs Polled	Percentage	
Congress-	44	41	58,95,908	52.90	
Communist	(44)	(22)	(65,47,558)	(50.50)	
Party	6		4,51,152	4.05	
	(6)	(4)	(10,55.013)	(8.13	
PSP	13	1	5,97,666	5.36	
	(13)	(5)	(12,50 763)	(9.88)	
Jana Sangh	17	<b>—</b> ,	4,90,627	4.40	
•	(7)	(2)	(5,66.008)	(4.44)	
Swatantra Independents	. 3	_	31,036	0.27	
and Others	84*	2	36,80,213	33.02	
	(40)	(11)	(35,44,121)	(27.04)	
			1,11,46,602	<u> </u>	

\*Includes 10 persons belonging to the Peasants' and Workers'

(Results of poll from Manipur not received. Polling to take place in Himachal Pradesh and one constituency in Punjab. For Punjab, Rajasthan West Bengal, Tripura and Uttar Pradesh figures see page 13. The figures in brackets are those of 1957.)

## **MLAS**

#### MAHARASHTRA

S. G. Patkar (Sewree)	(Bombay City)
Dhakat Sutar (Kasa)	(Thana Dt.)
Venkappa Madur (Sholapur City)	(Sholapur Dt.).
Babaji Avad (Pathardi)	(Ahmednagar)
Kashinath Jadhav (Bhir)	(Bhir Dt.)
Anna Ganapati (Renapur)	
DITATIAN	

(Amritsar Dt.)

(Ambala Dt.)

(Trichy Dt.)

#### **PUNJAB** Makhan Singh Tarsikka (Jandiala)

Shamsher Singh Josh (Rupar)

٠.	Davu biligii Master (Filtii)	Baunga	עדע.
Ł.	Jangir Singh Joga (Talwandi Sabo)		
5.	Gurbax Singh Dhulkot	•	
	(Nihalsinghwala)	(Ferozepur	Dt.)
B	Deedar Singh Chida (Baghapurana-R)		- ",
7.	Bhan Singh Bharua (Dhuri-R)	(Sangrur	Dt )
3.	Harnam Singh Chamak (Mahalkajan)	(	
3	Hardit Singh Phottal (Sangrus)	,,	

#### TAMILNAD 1. Kalyanasundaram (Trichy-II)

2. A. K. Subbayya (Tiruthuraipudi)	(Tanjore Dt.)
RAJASTHAN	
1. Ramanand Aggarwal (Alwar) 2. Hari Ram (Tijara)	(Alwar Dt.
<ol> <li>Swami Kumaranand(Beawar)</li> <li>Sheopat Singh (Hanumangarh)</li> <li>Yogendra Nath Handa (Raisinghnagar)</li> </ol>	(Ajmer Dt.) (Ganganagar)

#### UTTAR PRADESH

1. Dr. Z. A. Ahmad (Kopaganj)

2.	Jharkhande Rai (Ghosi)	
3.	Changhur Ram (Bela-Daultabad-So	3)
4.	Surjan Ram (Mubarakpur-SC)	<u>"</u>
5.	Chandrajeet Yaday (Mohammedaba:	l Gohna)
6.	Raghunath Ram (Rasra-SC)	(Ballia Dt.)
7.		(Ghazipur)
8.	Jhilmit Ram (Pachhottar-SC)	, ,
9.		(Varanasi)
10.	Bhikha Lal (Hasangani-SC)	(Unnao)
11.	Vijai Pal Singh (Budhana )	(Muzaffarnagar)
12.		(Kanpur)
13.		(Moradabad)
14.	Raghubir Ram (Zahurabad-SC)	(Ghazipur)

#### INDEPENDENTS SUPPORTED BY CPI Chandan Singh (Kairana)

	Deepnarayan Singh (Kheri)	(Kheri Dt.)
3.	Lakhpat Ram Sharma (Jhansi)	' (Jhansi)
	WEST BENGAL	

1.	Jiban Krishna De (Tufanganj)	(Cooch-Behar Dt.)
2.	Bhadra Bahadur Hamal (Jore Bung	calow) (Darjeeling
		Dt.)
3.	Khalii Syed (Kishmundi)	(W. Dinajpur Dt.)
4.	Mangla Kisku (Gangarampur-ST)	"
5.	Nimai Murmu (Habibpur-ST)	(Malda Dt.)
6.	Dharanidhar Sarkar (Malda)	,,
	Sanat Kumar Raha (Berhampur)	(Murshidabad)
8.	Debi Prasad Basu (Nabadwip	(Nadia Dt.)
9.		
LO.	Monoranian Roy (Bijpur)	(24-Parganas)

#### Gopal Basu (Naihati) Jamini Bhushan Saha (Noapara) Gopal Banerjee (Khardah) Jyoti Basu (Baranagar)

 Jyoti Basu (Baranagar)
 Tarun Kumar Sen Gupta (Dum Dum)
 Khagendra Kumar Roy Chowdhury (Sonarp
 Rabindra Nath Mukhopadhyaya (Behala)
 Somnath Lahiri (Alipore)
 Niranjan Sen Gupta (Tollygunj)
 Jagat Basu (Beliaghata North)
 Ila Mitra (Maniktola)
 Ganesh Ghosh (Belgachia)
 Dr. Abu Asad Muhammad Obaidul Ghani (Calcutta)

Narayan Chandra Roy (Vidyasagar) Amarendra Nath Basu (Burtolla South) Tarapada De (Domjur) Dulal Chandra Mondal (Sankrail-SC) Monoranjan Hazra (Uttarpara) (Howrah) (Hooghly)

29. Panchu Gopal Bhaduri (Serampore)
30. Girija Bhushan Mukherjee (Bhadraswar)
31. Bhowani Mukhopadhyaya (Chandernagore)
32. Nagen Dolui (Ghatal) 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. (Midnapur Mrigendra Bhattacharii (Daspur)

Narayan Chowbey (Kharagpur) Jaleswar Hansda (Ranibundh-ST) Radhika Dhigar (Pandit) (Bishnupur-SC) (Bankura Promoth Ghosh (Bariora) Dr. Abani Bhattacharji (Bankura) Dr. Radhanath Chattaraj (Labhpur) (Birbhum) Gobordhan Das (Mayureswar-SC) Bejoy Paul (Asansol)
Lakshman Bagdi (Raniganj-SC)
Aswini Roy (Bhatar)
Suchand Soren (Memari-ST) (Burdwan)

Suchand Soren (Memari-ST)
Harekrishna Konar (Kalna)
Syed Abdul Mansur Habibullah
Haridas Chakravorty (Barabani)
Subodh Chowdhury (Katwa)
Narayan Das (Mangalkote-SC)
Sreemohan Thakur (Ketugram)

#### INDEPENDENTS

Gholam Yazdani (Kharba)
 Biren Roy (Murshidabad)

Gigantic processes are under way in the contemporary world. Both the changes they cause and their meaning are described in the Programme adopted by the 22nd CPSU Congress, which unfolds a grand panorama and prospects of world development.

RSTLY, with the victory British and French imperialof socialism on one-third of the globe the transition began from the final stage of socialist construction to communist construction in the

sion against Egypt, a small state, weak in military res-pect, immediately following the serious warning in the Soviet note to Britain. Secondly, the fast progress of the national-liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America brings nearer the end of colonialism and undermines the foundations

of imperialism.

Thus, these two gigantic forces of the majority of mankind, developing at a fast rate, create possibilities for curbing the imperialists' drive to a new world war, and for achieving the victory of the cause of peace.

As the Programme of the CPSU proclaims, "the joining of the efforts of the newlyfree peoples and of the peo-ples of the socialist countries in the struggle against the war danger is a cardinal fac-tor of world peace. This mighty front, which expresses the will and strength of two-thirds of mankind, can force the imperialist aggressors

Long before the present period of communist construction, throughout the fortyfour years after 1917, the progress of socialism and the national-liberation movement have been closely intercon-

Lenin noticed that before the epoch of the world revolution the movement for national liberation was part of the general democration movement while now after the victory of the Soviet Revolution in Russia and the beginning of the epoch of the world revolution, the world proletarian revolution.

The present epoch fully con firms the correctness of Lenins' words. And an under-standing of this correctness Lenins' words important for the succes of the national-libera-tion movement in any country.

#### COOPERATION FOR PEACE

Before 1917, any uprising without exception, aimed at national liberation, was sup-pressed by the superior forces I imperialism.

The formation of the Peo-

ple's Democracies in East Europe and the victory of the revolution in China, which spread socialism over one-third of the globe, have weakened imperialism for good, and have ensured great ievements of the nationaliberation movement today,
Due to the might of the
socialist one-third of the
world, most of the formerly

colonial peoples, whose risings have always ruthlessly suppressed, co now set up politically indep could which, if alone, would have been weak and

Even small and weak states which have won their national independence, are able successfully to repulse the threats and aggression on the part of the imperialist powers, since the might of the socialist camp is on the side of the

most terrible crime against an understanding of the colo- aspects of the situation in the mankind—a world thermo- nial peoples' struggle for their world, is still more obvious. mankind—a world thermo-nuclear war that can bring unprecedented destruction to entire countries and wipe out. entire nations. The problem entire nations. The problem of war and peace has become a life-and-death problem for ists, powerful in the past, had to stop quite unexpectedly for themselves their aggresnundreds of millions of peo

In the old era, before the October Revolution of 1917, at an early stage of the nationalliberation movement, its leanial peoples' struggle for their national-liberation and from the struggle itself.

Everything has changed since 1917. Today the struggle for peace and against imperialism's drive for war imperialism's drive for war is equally in the interest of the socialist countries, of the countries of national liberation, and of the peoples in imperialist coun-

The threat of fascism in

trying to knock together their military blocs not only on the basis of imperialist states mainly, as it was at the time of the Triple Alliance and the entente when the colonies figured as mere appendages or prey in still another conflict, but also drawing the newly-

## COMMUNIST CONSTRUCTION Likewise, the heroic people of Cuba have been able to inflict a defeat on the AND THE UPSURGE

## OF NATIONAL LIBERATION

invasion organized by the United States. The United States, the mightiest imperialist power in the world. has to reckon with the fact that the unshakable solida-rity of the Soviet Union and of the anti-imperialist ma-jority of the world is on the

sion against Egypt, a small

side of Cuba.

The role of the growing olidarity of the socialist world is not limited by the fact that deters aggression and the imperialist powers' urge towards war. Today the signi-ficance of this solidarity is clearly expressed in the field

#### NEW **EPOCH**

economy as well.

It is the truly gigantic pro gress outlined in the vast 20 year Programme of commu-nist construction, which ensures the ever growing pracsures the ever growing prac-tical aid to the newly-inde-pendent countries in their overcoming of the backward-hess of their economies and in achieving economic indepen-dence through industrialisation and development of balanced economies, which will not permit big imperialist monopolies to strangle them economically.

The cooperation of the socialist states with the newly-independent countries in all fields has been and still is vital for the successes of the national-liberation movement and for preserving the inde-pendence of the new states.

However, there is one more field, the cooperation in which assumes exceptional importance in the critical international situation today. It is cooperation in the struggle waged by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries for easing international ten-sions, for peaceful coexist-ence and for general and complete disarmament

This struggle is especially. significant for the national-liberation movement and for all the newly-independent countries, since it creates the most favourable conditions for their future progress.

their future progress.

The Programme of the CPSU says, "The issue of war and peace is the principal issue of today. Imperialism is the only source of the principal in the only source of the principal issue the only source of the war danger. The imperialist camp This was demonstrated during the Suez War, when the

The peace movement then only progressive embraced only progressive strata of the population in the chief imperialist countries, and was rather far both from

tween the great imperialist powers mainly possibilities for achieving their own aims, i.e., national-independence.

the 30's revealed the new character of the situation in the world, when the danger of a military attack of the fascist "axis" powers became obvious for all the peoples in

the world.

Today this much closer inter-connection of all the

Thus, the former Baghdad Pact, the present Cento, was set up on the basis of the Near East. Iraq was a member of the pact until the Iraqi re-

\* SEE FACING PAGE

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MARCH 18, 1962

## Imperialism's New Tactics

on Imperialism. Colonialism and Neo-Colonialism. organised by the All India eace Council from March 2 to 4, was specially interesting because of the emphasis laid by several of the 21 speakers on the new forms in which imperialism exercises its domination over and pressure upon several countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

M ANY Indian speakers con-centrated their special centrated their special attention on the dangerous pressures being exerted on India by imperialist powers, and particularly the USA, and particularly the USA, with a view to weaken India's foreign policy of nen-alignment and peaceful coexist-ence. The anti-Indian propaganda campaign on paganus campaign on question of Goa, the raising of the Kashmir issue in the UNO, support given to proimperialist elements, led by Phizo, in Nagaland—were all highlighted by Indian participants in the Seminar like Pandit Sundarlal, Aruna Asaf Ali, M. Farooqi, A. S. R. Chari and Romesh Chandra.

An analysis by them of recent imperialist intervenrecent imperianst interven-tion in the general elections —particularly in the North Bombay election contest in which Defence Minister

Likewise, Pakistan, together with the states of South-East

Asia which fell into the net of

imperialism, have been drawn

into the Seato bloc.

The United States consider

the Organisation of American

States in Latin America to be a tool which they would like to

use for aggressive economic

and military purposes of

pacts concluded by certain imperialist powers with some newly-independent states. In many countries which

whose national-liberation

movements are developing, there are imperialist bases,

EDY NET

Printed by D. P. Sinha at th

ad, New Delhi, and pr

by him from 714. Asaf Ali Ros

Telegraphic Address

Phone: 225794

SUBSRIPTION RATES

MLAND: Yearly Rs. 12-0-0

Half-yearly Rs. 6-0-0 and Quarterly Rs. 3-0-0.

FOREIGN: Yearly Rs. 20-0-4

All cheques and drafts to be made payable to T. MADHAVAN and not to NEW AGE

MARCH 18, 1962

MARXBADI

exist a great many

independence, or

American imperial

From Facing Page

Krishna Menon was a candidate—lent topicality and urgency to the Seminar

The task of the Indian people in this context, to unite all national democratic forces against the reactionary pro-imperialist elements in the country, was forcefully under-lined, and the call given for a thorough exposure of the antinational "American" groups and parties in the country.

The Seminar was divided

into four sessions: the first an introductory session, outlining the reasons for the inseparability of the issues of peace and independence ar stating the main issues to be discussed in the Seminar; and the other three dealing with the specific nature of im-perialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism in Asia, Africa and Latin America respecti-

A galaxy of speakers-both Indian and from other countries—read a number of informative papers, throwing a re-vealing light on the nefarious methods being employed by the imperialists in the three

Special stress was laid in many of these papers on neo-colonialism—on the new economic and other means by which United States im-

against imperialism.

Throughout the post-war

period the imperialist coup-

tries have been waging wars against the national-libera-tion struggle of colonial peo-

This has been demonstrated

in Indonesia, Malaya, Korea, Vietnam, Laos, and during the

Suez conflict, in the military

occupation of the Lebanon and Jordan, and in the dis-

graceful repeated aggression

and terror against the Congo-

Under such circumstances

the struggle for peaceful coexistence and general and

rement, since the mili-

tary fight against Imperial-

ism and for national libera-tion has always been impos-

ed on colonial peoples or newly-independent coun-

ist aggression. It has never

the peoples struggling for their national independence.

A factor of particular importance in the world situa-

tion today, the one closely

connected with the issue of war and peace, is the develop-ment of science and techno-logy, which finds its reflection in the process of perfecting the nuclear and thermo-nuclear war, planned by the aggressive forces of imperial

aggressive forces of imperial-

The Programme of the

CPSU proclaims: "The people must concentrate their efforts

on curbing the imperialists in

connected with the issue

been chosen voluntarily

complete disarmamen

ples, or against indepen

Peace & Freedom

volution broke those fetters; and the struggle for the Iran and Pakistan are still latter's liquidation is today the main front of the fight

pendent countries.
The paper by Mr. Hussein
Joesoef of the Indonesian Embassy concentrated attention particularly on the facts regarding West Irian and the regarding West Irian and the legitimate right of this territory to return to its Mother-Similarly, Mr. Nguyen Van

Sao, Consul of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, gave an tenance of victoring gave an interesting and gripping account of the terror launched by the US imperialists and their accomplices against the people of South Viet Nam. From

#### Our Correspondent

Mr. L. Yaker, Representative of the Provisional Govern-ment of the Algerian Republic, while speaking of the specific situation in Algeria, empha-sised the bestial character of imperialism, which was daily taking the lives of innocent patriots in countries battling for national independence

Mr. H. Fischer, Deputy Trade Representative of the German Democratic Republic, gave a detailed description of by which United States imperialism in particular is seeking to strengthen its federal Republic are pentrating particularly into Africa

He developed ably his simile that the imperialists, like burglars, use every means burglars, use every means available to them, to carry out their plunder and looting

A carefully prepared talk by Z. M. Quaraishi on Imperialism in Africa was a valuable contribution to the section on that continent.

Dr. Clovis Maksoud, the Representative in India of the League of Arab States, and his colleagues Mr. Farid Abu Izzeddin and Mr. Mohammed Wahbi—all spoke of imperialism with special reference to the Arab countries, of the struggle of the people of Pales-tine, and also of the work

being done in Africa by the Casablanca powers. The Seminar on Latin America was full of interest, because of the general lack of knowledge that exists in re-gard to the continent. Papers by Rana Jang Bahadur Singh, by Rana Jang Bahadur Singh, Lajpat Rai and Om Prakash Paliwal and speeches by Dr. Florez charge d'Affaires of the Cuban Embassy and C. N. Malviya (who had just returned to India after atten-ding the Latin America Peo-ple's Congress at Havana) were a though-provoking mass of little known facts on this continent, which in the words of Dr. Florez, had till now been kept by the US imperialists, behind a

SEMINAR

**NEW DELHI** 

The positive and construc-tive nature of the Seminar was emphasised by Major General S. S. Sokhey, who presided over the session on Africa, when he said that the Seminar sought not merely to state the nature of imperialism, but the ways to fight and liquidate it.

The close and vital connection between the struggle for national independence and the world-wide struggle for complete and general disarmo. ment has emphasised by all

The Seminar itself rightbegan with a carefully prepared paper on Disarma-ment by Mr. M. F. Cher-kassov, Minister-Counsellor kassov, Minister-Counsenor of the Soviet Embassy. This ment story right up to the recent proposal of Chairman Khrushchov for the parti-cipation in the 18-nation disarmament negotiations of the heads of the govern-

ments concerned. In the inaugural session itself, the vital significance of general disarmament for the whole world, for the struggle for national independence itself was stressed by leading Indian speakers

The entire proceedings of the Seminar are being published by the All India Peace

## WORLD CONGRESS ON DISARMAMENT

THE World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace will be held at Moscow from July 9 to 14,

Prof. J. D. Bernal, Chairman of the Presidential Committee of the World Council of Peace in an appeal, has stated:

"People everywhere are protesting more and more vigor-ously against the threat of nuclear annihilation. Yet that threat remains and grows. New ways must be found to unite mankind in action to banish nuclear weapons from the world. 1962 can be the year when the governments, urged forward by their peoples forward by their peoples, reach agreement on the first genuine measures of disarma-

overwhelming majority

threat of nuclear

mankind who want to end the

threat of nuclear bombs, the World Council of Peace has decided to convene a World

"We invite all organisations

"Disarmament — general, complete and controlled, in-cluding the destruction of nuclear weapons—is the most urgent need of our time. It is an essential step to a world without war "A great surge of feeling and action for disarmament

is evident all over the world.
To help strengthen this and
to help bring into action the decision of the latest session of the World Peace Council ber will be welcomed everywhere, i.e. the decision on convening a broad World Con-gress for Peace and Disarma-ment in Moscow this year. It Congress for General Disarmament and Peace, to take place in Moscow from July 9 to 14, 1962. is wonderful, that the country which is blazing the trail of communist construction and opens up a new future for mankind, will also receive the and movements, all men and women concerned with ending

thing is to ward off a thermonuclear war, to prevent it from breaking out. This can be This new factor is like-

wise highly important for the national-liberation movement and for newly-independent since the imperialists chose the Afro-Asian peoples as the most suitable objects for the first tests of the lethal nuclear weapons.

The first atom bombs were dropped on Asian people in Hiroshima and Negasaki Hiroshima and Negasaki.
American thermonuclear tests
were conducted in the atoll of
Bikini—the territory belonging to the peoples of Polynesia. British thermonuclear
tests were conducted in the
area inhabited by the aborigines of the Australian con-tinent. France conducted its atomic tests in Africa—in the Sahara.

Consequently, the struggle against nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapon, and for general and complete disarmament, is of vital interest to all the peoples, without exception. It is equally important for the peoples in the countries of national liberation, in socia-list countries and in the countries of imperialism.

For all these reasons the delegates of such a congress, whose aims are embodiment of the interests and aspirations of all the peoples in the world. from making use of weapons. The main (Translated from Pravda).

Congress. All are welcon There we can have a free and frank discussion of every problem related to peace and disarmament. There are indeed no vital questions, whether national independence, living standards or employment. that are not directly affected by the present armaments race. All need to be discussed

"Above all, we want to see the discussion at the Congress lead to world-wide action in favour of disarmament, Work. ing together, the peoples of the world will have the power to change their fate and set the world once and for all on

#### INDIA'S

#### **PARTICIPATION**

THE All India Peace Council has decided to take the initiative to call an All India Congress for General Disarmament and Peace in Delhi from April 6 to 8, 1962.

With this Congress, the Peace Council hopes to initiate a three-month intensive campaign in preparation for the World Congress. The campaign will include the holding during. April, May and June, of State and local Conferences for General Disarmament and seminars and meetings on Disarmament.

The All-India Congress will elect the delegation to the World Congress.

## United Left Front Reviews Results

The leaders of West Bengal's six left parties which sidious methods, the West Bengal the elections in a statement pointed out the tall claim of the State Congress leadership jointly fought the elections in a statement pointed out that the tall claim of the State Congress leadership that the Congress had won a resounding victory in West Bengal was not borne out by facts. The state-

We have no hesitation in frankly admitting that one of the main reasons for these

reverses has been a sense of

self-complacency on our part.

While the Congress con-centrated its efforts and resources in these areas, manipulated the electoral

rolls, streamlined its election machinery, mobilise

goonda gangs, and, on the

polling day, resorted to open goondaism and false voting on an unprecedented scale, we did not take necessary

steps to effectively counter these nefarious methods.

them the United Front lost by margins of less than 600

votes.

We should not also overlook

haviour, all fundamental rules of free and fair elec-tions and, indeed, all cherish-ed principles to the winds.

The power of Big Money and the Governmental machi-nery were unashamedly press-

ed into service for the elec-

ties, and false scare on a mas

ties to vote for the Congress

Wrong

Methods -

PPARENTLY, the Con-gress has made a net gain of five seats in the State As-We have no hesitation in sembly, having increased its tally from 152 in 1957 to 157 in 1962. The actual position, however, is somewhat differ-

ent.
As a result of its victory in a by-election caused by the resignation of an opposition member, and the crossing over of the floor by some other opposition MLAs, the Congress strength in the legislature was raised from 152 to 161.

#### Gains & Losses

Compared to this fleure on. the eve of the present elec-tions, the Congress has in reality lost four seats. The total gains and losses of the Congress have been 51 and 55 respectively.
The constituent units of

the fact that West Bengal's democratic movement under the present United Left Front the leadership of the United (CPI, FB., RSP, Marxist FB., RCPI, Bolshevik Party, and (CPI, FB. RSP, Marxist FB., RCPI, Bolshevik Party, and progressive individuals), on the other hand, have captured 81 seats as against 62 in 1957, excluding the PSP in both cases. both cases. honest people to see that the Congress threw all elemen-tary codes of democratic be-haviour, all fundamental

both cases.
Secondly, the Congress has got 342,483 votes less than in 1957. The percentage of the total votes polled by it is 45.10 as against 46.14 in 1957.

But the candidates of the United Left Front have polled about seven lakks votes more than in 1957. The percentage of the total votes polled by them has increased from 32.32 to 37.00. These are only approximate calculations. But they are adequate enough to knock the bottom out of the braging by West Bengal's Con-

toral ends of the ruling party. Limitless funds were lavishly used for bribery and corrup-In the 41 industrial consti-Tremendous pressure was brought to bear upon reli-gious and linguistic minorituencies of the State, the Congress has no doubt increased its strength by two seats, but the candidates of the United Left Front have polled a far bigger percent-age of votes than the Con-

Thirdly, the Congress has Blatant lies, slanders and fabrications were spread against the United Left Front without any scruples whatsoever. Where all these methods seemed inadequate, the Congress resorted to downright threats and intimidation of large sections. been reduced to a minority in Burdwan, Birbhum and Coochbehar districts. The United Left Front has also succeeded in wresting the following new seats from the Congress: two in Hooghly, four in Na-dia, four in Bankura, five in Murshidabad two in Jalpai-guri, three in Malda and two midation of large sections of voters and even to open terrorism and goondaism. We of the United Left Front did not sufficiently take in West Dinaipur.

Two Cabinet Ministers, one Minister of State and into account all these tactics Minister of State and the Speaker of the Assembly have been defeated. This shows the big advance made by the left-forces in the motustil disand malpractices on the part of the Congress.
We further take this opportunity to state that we have

received certain complaints about serious irregularities in the conduct of poll, such as the breaking of seals in ballot Above all, the United Left Front has won 12 out of 36 Lok Sabha seats and has inboxes before the counting of creased its strength by three. The Congress tally has decreased from 23 to 22 seats. Congress worker, presence of the ballot papers of one cons-

Despite these successes, we tituency in the ballot boxes of another constituency, etc. By its malpractices and indo not however, minimise the setbacks suffered by the de-mocratic forces in Calcutta,

Constitution and the electoral law, the elections can be degraded and rigged.

It should be a matter of

ioy for all secular and noncommunal and progressive forces that not one candidate of the communal and reactionary parties like the Jana Sangh, Hindu Maha. sabha and Swatantra Party has been returned either to the State Assembly or the Lok Sabba.

The anti-people and anti-unity policies pursued by the PSP have led to their virtual elimination in the West Ben-gal elections The results of the elections have clearly de-monstrated that unity among. the left parties brings new strength to all of them and raises their stature, both individually and collectively.

The return of the Con-

gal will lead to mounting hardships and sufferings for the masses of people and attacks against democracy. It also means great strug-gles ahead, which would call for greater uinty of all

democratic forces. We of the United Left Front plemnly assure our suffering to the effect that the Conpeople that we will always, work for their cause and will spare no efforts to unite them for a better life, irrespective of whether they supported us or the Congress or any other party in the elections. We are proud of the unity of the left parties, and it will

or the left parties, and it will now be our constant endea-vour to strengthen this unity, both inside and outside the legislature, and further broa-den the unity of the demo-cratic forces in West Bengal. We will strive our utmost

to break new grounds and to extend the base of our

organisational efforts will have to be made to conso-lidate our gains in the elections and to forge ahead. and thus discharge our res-ponsibilities towards the people.

We have received reports

gress is mobilising anti-social elements and organising goonda attacks against our workers and voters who sup-ported us in the elections. We would, therefore, call

\*Includes

we would, therefore, can
upon the people to curb these
attacks by their united
efforts. We would also strongly
urge upon the Government to
take effective measures to stop these activities.

The signatories to the above statement were Promode Dasgunts (CPI), Asoke Ghose (f.B.), Amar Basu (Marxist F.B.), Makhan Paf (RSP), Bimalananda Mukherto extent the base of our (RSP), Bimalananda Mukner-movement. We are fully jee (RCPI) and Barada Muconscious of the fact that kutmani (Rolshevik Party).

#### But it remains a fact that quite a number of seats in these areas were marginal ones, and in at least three of In Uttar Pradesh

## Build Democratic Unity!

Commenting on the results of the elections, Kali Shankar Shukla, Secretary, U. P. State Council, Com m u n i s t Party of India, has issued the following statement to the press:

THE results of the elec-tions have, more than anything else, on one hand demonstrated the crying need of unity of all democratic and patriotic ele-ments in the country and, on the other, exposed the utter bankruptcy of the slogan of atni-Communism. If we consider the elec-

tion results of U.P. alone it would be obvious that it no exaggeration to say that the parties of opposition in the State with democratic appeal have lost not less than 50 seats to the ruling party and the par-ties of reaction because of lack of any understanding between them and because of the blind anti-Commu-

of the blind anti-Communism of some of them.

This factor, along with the fact that anti-Communism has led to the ideological corrosion of the ranks of otherwise patriotic parties in representation for the state of the state o ties, is responsible for the increase in the strength of the Jana Sangh in the State.
It is also obvious that it.

is precisely in those regions of the State where taluq-dari existed and where its remnants are still strongly entrenched that the Jana Sangh and the Swatantra Party have gained most of their seats and reaction has raised its ugly head in the most menacing manner.

However, the fact that

not only held its own in these elections, but has also increased its strength, even if only slightly, in spite of the fire directed against it from all sides, is a proof that this challenge of the reactionary forces can be defeated by our people provided those who are responsible for the affairs of their respective parties do not look at this problem from a narrow or partisan point of view and are not blinded by the tattered ideas of anti-Communism

The Communist Party's hope is that ways and means will be found to strengthen the democratic opposition in the State As-sembly as a first step towards meeting the serious challenge posed before us-all.

#### From Page Seven

## sive scale was raised to browbeat large sections of the re-ligious and provincial minori-

cuear to people that, if there is anybody who is responsible for the victory of the two League candidates, it is the KPCC and its friends.

There is, on the other hand, the incontestable fact that the Congress and the PSP secured six seats only because they were able to mobilise the support of Catholic church and Nair Service society—two com-munal organisations that are no less a serious threat to no less a serious threat to secularism for which Con-gress says it fights. The very constituencies in which they have won, have a prepon-derance of people who are under the influence of the Catholic church and Nair Service society.

It was to mobilise these sections of the people that all the Catholic Bishops

Blatant lies, slanders and we faciliated the victory of Kerala issued a joint pastoral fabrications were spread League candidates has been letter. Although Prime Minisagainst the United Left fully disproved. ter Nehru publicly disapproveront without any scruples

Furthermore, it has become ed of the practice of issuing such pastoral letters, the State leaders of Congress were thankful that such a letter did actually come.

Some of them even justified the issuing of such a letter. Furthermore, a member of the lower hierarchy of the Christian church—Father Vadak-kan—was publicly reprimend ed for giving a particular interpretation of that pastoral letter which would have meant that it is not necessary for the believers to vote for the Conlogise for the interpretaapologise for tion he gave.

It was this that, together with certain concessions which were given during the last days of the election campaign to the Latin support Christian community and the intensive campaign Society.

manabanan, leader of the Nair Service Society, that finally tilted the scales in favour of the Congress can-didates in six constituen-cies from Mukundapuran in the north to Mavelikara

. It was under these circumst ances that a question was put by me in the Assembly to the leader of the Congress party: "How many seats can you get if you have no support of Bishops' pastoral letter and campaign of Nair Service Society?" He had no answer, because it is clear to every careful student of affairs in Kerala that the Congress, which returned to power 1960 with the support of organisations the State, could not in 1962 secure even one-third of the Lok Sabha seats without the of the Catholic and Nair Service

MARCH 18, 1962

## Lok Sabha Votes—State-wise Nepal's

		MILOUM		The section of the se			RAJAST	HAN .	
Total No. of S	eats:	26 Vot	torate• es Polled• entage of Poll:	1,13,51,529 64,19,142 56.55	Total No. of	Seats:	. 22 Vc	ectorate: otes Polled: rcentage of Poll	1,03,24,6 51,90,4 50.
	No. of Contesting Candidates	Candidates Elected	Valid Votes Polled	Fercentage		No. of Contesting Candidates	Candidates Elected	Valid Votes Polled	Percentage
Congress Communist	26 (26)	25 (23)	35,18.844 (32,19,014)	54.82 (55.52)	Congress Communist Party	21 (22)	14 (19)	19,50,174 (24,94,094),	37.57 (53.69)
Party	3 (2)	\ <u></u>	98,668	1.54	PSP	5 (4)	<u>(</u> _) `	1,55,390 (2,23,416)	· 2.99 (4.80)
PSP	12 (12)	` - <del>` - </del>	(2,69.362) 9,30,061	(4.64) 14.49	Jana Sangh	(2) 11	( <del>_</del> )	(58,916) 4,82,239	(1.30) 4.54
Jana Sangh	7	(1) —	(10,82.698) 1,71,929	(18.67) 2.68	Swatantra Indopendente	(7) 10	( <u>—)</u>	(5,14,255) 8,59,5.68	(11.10) 16.56
Swatantra	(5) 7	( <del>-)</del>	(1,43,608) 5,01,212	(2.48) 7.81	Independents and Others	64 (26)	<b>4*</b> (3)	17,43,103 (13,54,302)	33.59 (29.20)
Independents and Others	33 (17)	1 (2)	11,98,428	18.66				51,90,455	(_0,10)
	(41)	(2)	(10,83,740)	(17.22)	*Includes one	seat w	on hy Ro	m Paire Pariche	, a

						V	VEST BE	NGAL	en di ili di
Total No. of	Seats:	20* To	A ectorate: tal Polled rcentage of Po	79,97,634 19,68,968 31: 24.62	Total No. of		36 Vo Pe	ectorate: tes Polled: rcentage of Pol	
	of itesting ididates	Candidates Elected	1 Votes	Percentage		No. of Contesting Candidates	Candidates Elected	Valld Votes Polled	Percentage
	Con Can	Can	Valid Polled	Perc	Congress	36 (35)	22 (23)	45,53,677 (50,31,695)	48.78 (48.20)
Congress  Communist	19*** (20)	14** (7)	10,93.297 (17,76,767)	55,53 (40.01)	Party PSP	24 (14) 12 (6)	(6) (8)	28,59,758 (19,85,181) 4,41.658	29.38 (19.01) 4.54
Party	2 (5)	(1)	1,00,577 (2,14,903)	5.11 (4.84)	Jana Sangh	4 (5)	(2) (—)	(5,90,692), 1,02,184 (1,49,351)	(5.66) 1.05 (1.43)
PSP	6 (6)	1 (2)	3,05,116 (6,84,023)	15.50 (15.40)	Swatantra Hindu Mahasabha	. 4 7	- <del>-</del> -	99,293	1.02
Ganatantra Parishad	10	4	3,42,970	17.42	Independents and Others		- 6	70,860 16,95,793	0.73 16.50
Swatantra	(15) 1	, <b>(7</b> )	(12,91,141) 22,743	(29.10) 1.16		(41)*	(5)	(26.83,190) *	(25.70)
Socialist Independents and Others	3 8	1	52,633	2.67	*Includes Hit	ndu Mahs	sabha ca	97,33.211 ndidates in 195	7.
and Officia	(11)	(3)	51,629 (4,73,656)	2.52 (10.64)					

*Includes one uncontested seat.	Total No. of Seats:
**Includes one uncontested return.	The state of the s
***That of contested seats only.	
	그리고 얼마가 그렇게 하는데 그렇게 하나 하다.

19.68.985

61,19,142

	1	PUNJA	В		
Total No. of S	Seats:	22* Vo	Total Electorate: Votes Polled Percentage of Poll:		
	No. of Contesting Candidates	Candidates Elected	Valid Votes Polled	Percentage	
Congress Communist	21 (22)	13 (21)	27,29.353 (36,84.219)	41.34 (51.25)	
Party	3 (11)	<u>(1)</u>	2,84,022 (12,07,600)	4.31 (16.81)	
PSP	(3)	(_)	(41.285)	(0.57)	
Akali Dal	7	3	8,24,129	12.55	
Jana Sangh	17	3	10,25,831	15.54	
	(16)	(-)	(11,52,672)	(16.04)	
Swatantra Others and	6		2,90,378	4.39	
<b>In</b> dependents	49:	2	14,42,890	21.87	
	(33)	()	(11.00.054)	(15.30)	
			66,01,603	er en servición de la companya de l La companya de la co	

\*In one constituency election will be held later.

MARCH 18, 1982

# ,654 ,455 0.27

seat won by Ram Rajya Parishad.

Total No. of	Seats:	36 Vot	ctorate: es Polled: centage of Pol	1,79,73,15 97,33,21 1: 54.1
	of itesting ididates	ates	Votes	8ge
	No. of Contest Candid	Candidates Elected	Valid V Polled	Percentag
Congress	36	22	45,53,677	46.78
Communist	(35)	(23)	(50,31,695)	(48.20)
Party	24	9	28,59,758	90.00
	(14)	(6)	(19,85,181)	29.38 (19.01)
PSP	12		4,41.658	4.54
	(6)	(2)	(5,90,692)	(5.66)
Jana Sangh	4		1,02,184	1.05
	(5)	()	(1,49,351)	(1.43)
Swatantra Hindu	. 4	- <del>-</del> -	99,293	1.02
Mahasabha Independents	7		70,860	0.73
and Others	25	6	16,95,793	16.50
	(41)*	(5)	(26.83,190) •	(25.70)
			97.33.211	

#### TRIPURA

Votes Polled

	<u> </u>	Per	centage of Poll:	67.19
	No .of Contesting Candidates	Candidates Elected	Valid Votes Polled	Percentage
Congress Communist	2 (2)	(1)	1,39.586 (2,53 241)	42.81 (46.01)
Party PSP	2 (2) 1	2 (1)	1,63,623 (2,48,422) 6,302	51.27 (45.31) 1.98
Independents	1 (3)	<u>—</u>	12.574 (48,675)	3.94 (8.84)
	e er og fan Litter yn de		3,19,085	

#### CORRECTION

In the chart published last week on the results of the Lok Sabha elections in the figures for 1957, some errors have crept in with regard to the figures of the Communist Party. The correct figures are given below:

	Seats	Seats Polled	Percent-
	Contested	won votes	age
Communist Party	121*	29** 1,21,23,85	
Others	655	71 3,11,17,97	7 25.83

Includes eight Communist Party members who con-tested on Maha Gujarat Janata Parishad symbol; and one who contested as a member of a district-wise front in Kolar District, Mysore State.

Includes two Communist Party members who were elected on PDF symbol.

## Struggle

\* FROM PAGE 2

component of the struggle

The fundamental task be-fore the country is the estab-lishment of full fledged parliamentary democracy. "De-mocracy" with sovereign and supreme power to establish or not to establish parliament, to make or unmake the cabi-net, to grant or refuse fundamental rights, vested in the hands of the King is a farce.

No election of a new par-liament, no restoration of the dissolved parliament, nor even the election of a constituent assembly, can guarantee de-mocracy in Nepal

The King will play with all such institutions even like a cat with a mouse. What would be given today would be with-

As such the question of establishing parliamentary democracy is closely linked with the transfer of power from the transfer of power from the hands of the King to the hands of the people. The establishment of parliament ary democracy is never com-plete till the power in the hands of the King is transferred to the people.

Hence the need for the

Establishment of a supreme and sovereign parlia-ment with the right to change or frame the vested in the house elected by

Complete transfer of power to the people.

These are the fundamental

task before us and it is during the struggle to establish this genuine democracy that we shall as the Moscow Statement says, "strengthen" our "bonds with the masses, in-crease their political consci-ousness and help them understand the tasks of the socia-list revolution and realise the necessity of accomplishing it, and meanwhile lay the foundation, for national demo-cracy and finally pave the

4,74,902

As such. no natriotic son of the country, no Communist, no disciple of Marx and Lenin will minimise the need for parliamentary democracy and eulogise the King, who is representing reaction and the counterrevolutionary forces.

But instead we have to consolidate our Party, broaden the organisation and establish a broad united front with all the democratic and revo-lutionary forces, with its strong base on the firm worker-peasant alliance and lead the country along a broad democratic rood.

For reasons of space we had to omit the Uttar Pradesh figures. The details of the Manipur results are not yet available. We shall publish them next week. The figures given are from the Government's Press Information Bureau. They have been work-ed out by the Central Office, CPI.

PAGE THIRTEEN

#### KHRUSHCHOV Calls

One may say without hesitation that the programme of achieving a further rise of agricultural production adopted by the 22nd Congress of the Party will be not only fulfilled but surpassed, just as our programme of industrial production, Nikita Khrush-chov declared in his concluding speech at the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU on

661 ET imperialists yell about a crisis. We comrades know that there is no risis in our agriculture!

Khrushchov noted: "We are now criticizing ourselves not because we did little but because we can do more if we utilize our potentialities

rationally' Khrushchov stressed that everything must be done so as to achieve already this year and in the next few years a turning point, so that the Soviet people should feel a substantial improvement in the supply of seignal products. supply of animal products "We have everything needed to achieve that".

#### Increased Assistance

But First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU warned that "the planned measures to in-crease assistance to agricul-ture do not mean that there will be a reallocation of means to agriculture to the detriment of the develop-ment of industry or of the strengthening of the coun-try's defences".

He stressed that the streng-thening of the might of the Soviet Union, of its defences, was a most important task. "We shall accomplish it un-flinchingly. This is the bed-rock of the existence of our socialist state, of its develop ment and its su

"By history the Soviet Union, our Party, our people, have been given the leading role in the construction of socialism and communism, in defending their homeland and ther socialist countries from imperialism

"The working people of the Soviet Union are well aware of the historic significance of the construction of commu-nism in our country for the fraternal socialist, countries for all the peoples fighting for freedom and independence".

Khrushchov noted that. steadily developing industry and strengthening the counand strengthening the country's defences, the Party and the Government will find appropriate and adequate means for agriculture.

At the same time Khrushehov said he was confident that, relying on the equipment and the level of mechanization of agricul mechanization of ture already existing on state collective farms and farms, it was possible to in-crease considerably the outout of farm products al-

The main and the m urgent thing to do now is to ensure better utilization of equipment, to organize better the work on collective farms and state farms, Khrushchov

Khrushchov spoke about the which is source of great wealth for the people. He pointed out that as proved by the experience of thousands upon thousands of farms in different zones of the country, maize can be effectively cul-tivated all over the territory of the Soviet Union.

Khrushchov noted that the question of production of mineral fertilizers war-ranted serious attention. He announced that possibly it the Central Committee the Party or a conference in order to discuss once more the tasks of the further de-

velopment of the chemical industry. Now, he added, we-

have a better and more con-crete idea about the coun-

try's requirements for che-

mical industry products. Turning to certain organizational problems of agricul-tural management, Khrushchov pointed out that at the present time the organiza-tional problem—the problem of selecting and training people—was the main one in agriculture. Collective farm and state farm production adninistrations are called upon to play an important part in

"Agriculture is one of the main aspects of our entire production life. It is impossible to build communism without a powerful, well-develop-ed modern industry. But nei-ther can communism be built without a comprehensively developed agriculture".

In our Soviet society, Khrushehov steessed the attention of the whole Party, of the whole people must always be focussed on the development of agriculture.

Khrushchov noted that the work of this Plenary Meeting gave deep satisfaction to all. The speeches of the partici-pants in the Plenary Meeting showed that "already now we have risen a step higher in our understanding of the produc-tion problems of agricul-

#### Great Scientists

Wonderful scientists, spoke at this Plenary Meeting, Khrushchov said Most gratifying was the speech of Academician Konstantin Skryabin who was welcomed so warmly and with enormous respect for his work by the partici-pants in the Plenary Meeting.

Khrushchov recalled that the Plenary Meeting was addressed by scientist Viktor Pisarev who used such a figure of speech: "The day of the downfall of the autocracy, of the whole doctrine of the grassland agriculture is the day of liberation of our land from the heritage of the cult of the individual which heavily weighed on it". "That was a fine way of putting it", Khrushchov declared.

At the same time Khrush chov noted that unfortuna-tely there still were some scientists who did no scientific research and indulged only in administrative work.
Soviet scientists, in the first

turn the Academy of Sciences, and leading exponents of So-viet science should ponder over the ways to open more widely the doors to science be-

fore young people.

Khrushchov agreed with those comrades who raised at the Plenary Meeting the

## For An Upsurge In

question of revising the regulations of collective farms. "It surpluses with the same amois really necessary to do that. The regulations are not only foodstuffs. obsolete but have in many

for collective farms". "We have adopted a Party Programme: we are confronted with the task of drafting a new Constitution of the USSR. On the basis of these documents new regulations for agricultural co-operatives will be worked out and presented to a congress of col-lective farmers for approval"

#### Party's Aim

Khrushchov noted that the Party has called upon boys and girls to go to work on collective farms and state collective farms and state rms. The youth has enthusiastically responded to this appeal. He remarked that after all not too many lective farms and state farms. Therefore the Party's appeal should not be re-garded as a mass reallocation from town to the coun tryside. Now most districts

The Western press, Khrushchov noted, writes a lot about the work of the Plenary Meet-ing. There are some ill-wish-ers who rub their hands and write that there is an agricultural crisis in the Soviet Union and that socialist agriculture cannot compete with capita-

list agriculture.
It seems, Khrushchov noted. that these gentlemen hoped that the Plenary Meeting would adopt a decision re-nouncing the socialist menouncing the socialist me-thods in the agriculture of the country.
"Let the imperialists yell

about a crisis; we, comrades, know that there is no crisis in our agriculture".

Khrushchov pointed out that as compared with 1953, when 1,757,700 tons of meat and meat products were sold through the state trading system, in 1981 this figure rose to 4.033.000 tons. "We are now criticizing our-

fle, but because we must do more and because we can do more if we utilize our poten-tialities rationally", Khrushchov declared.

Khrushchov pointed out that the increase in the output of farm products did not keep up with the growing reents of the people. The iemand and supply could have available amount of produ

"Had we not abolished taxes, loans, had we not raised wages when we switched over to the seven-hour working day, had we not carried out other measures aimed at raising the peo-ple's standard of living, we would have reduced the demand of the population for

"One should consider that through the above-mentioned measures alone the state has given the working people an additional 42,000 million roubles. This is what caused the

increased demand".

Had we not followed a policy of increasing the real incomes of the population, particularly of factory and office workers in the low income brackets, Khrushchov went

In a capitalist state, Khrushchov said the capitalists would have boosted prices instantly, and such conditions would have been created under which tens of millions of people would not have been able to buy products

There are many countries in which the shops are bursting with goods, while the people are starving and are barefoot and ill-clad.

In the United States, Khrushchov said, a country with a high level of agricultural production, there are many hungry people. In the United not to speak of the semiemployed.

Because such people, and many others whose ear are low, do not have money to buy products, the shops are well stocked. Khrushchov noted that

there were some bourgeois publications which admitted the indisputable achievements of the Soviet Union in developing agriculture, industry and culture. They write now that there should he no illusions about the failure of agriculture in the Soviet Union. They write, Khrushchov went on, that life in the USSR becomes better from year to year, that the people are well dressed, vigorous and confident.

'Indeed our forces of potentialities are tremendous!"
Khrushchov declared. What
once was tsarist Russia, he
said, has advenced to the forefront. The most highly devecatching up with the USSR in

#### Soviet. Glory

"Through the ages will live the name of the man who was the first to blaze the road to outer space, and the country which sent the first cosmonaut soaring to the stars.

"This country is the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the first cos-monaut is a Soviet citizen, Yuri Gagarin, a Communist The first diurnal flight—17 revolutions — around the globe was made by a citizen of the Saviet Union, a member of the Communist Party, Gherman Titov.

"No arithmetical totting up of the flights can change what went down in history forever. Our country and our people blazed the way to other countries and the way to other countries and other peoples.

"Now any one would be able to make such flights if space ships are built. Brave people can be found in any country and the number of space flights can be endless".

"Those very working men and women, peasants and peasant women whom the aristocrats regarded as rabble. have proved in actual prac-tice their telent for science, technology, art, culture. And so, comrades, even if in agri-culture we are weaker now than some highly developed countries, we shall overtake and surpass them"

Agriculture

stantial results. At the same time the CPSU Central Com-mittee holds that the level of "The difficulties will be su output of grain, meat," milk and other products is still obviously insufficient and does not correspond to the great potentialities of the socialist clared. "We have a fine industry, we have advanced science, our cadres are capable of solving the biggest and most system of economy and the increased requirement in pro-CENTRAL

COMMITTEE

DECISION

66A powerful upsurge of griculture is to be re-

garded as one of the main

and urgent tasks of com-

munist construction", says

Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the

The decision notes that

'fraternal Communist Par-

ties, the world working class and the national liberation movements regard the new CPSU Programme as an out-

standing document of crea-

The strength of the CPSU

Programma lies in the fact that it treats communism

comprehensively, as a system of universal equality and jus-

tice, as such a phase in the

development of humanity

when an unparalleled growth of the productive forces of

of the productive forces of the society will be achieved and the highest standard of

living ensured for the working

The CPSU included in its Programme a scientific plan of creating the material and

sure way to realize the great

"From each according to his ability, to each according to

his needs." "This Leninist, line

of our Party has the support of the whole Soviet people, of the world communist move-ment and of progressive hu-

"The Plenary Meeting of

the Central Committee of

the CPSU stresses the prime significance of a further upsurge of agriculture of the country for realising

the tasks of communist construction, for achieving a steady rise of the living standards of the people."

The decision cites figures

which speak of a considerable

increase in the output of farm products in recent years. The gross cutput of the en-

tire agriculture has risen by

per cent between 1953 a

Within these years the out-

put of grain has increased from 5.036 million poods to

from 5,036 million poods to 8,380 million poods. As a re-sult of the growth of the out-

put of farm products it has

een possible to increase con-

siderably the state purchases of the most important food-

stuffs and their sales to the

Sales of meat products through the state trading system have increased from

1.757.000 tons in 1953 to

4.033,000 tons in 1981, of milk

of butter-from 330,000 tons to 632,000 tons, sugar-from

Thus, the decision points out, the efforts of the Party and the people to advance agriculture have yielded sub-

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technical basis of communis

principle of communism

as the main eco

CPSU on March 9.

tive Marxism-Leninis

a decision adonted by the

The Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee holds that the present structure of agricultural management does not correspond to the increased regularments it restricts the possibility of using the reserves inherent in socialist agriculture and needs to be radically reorganized.

The decision says that "the rapid advancement of agriculture with a view to ensuring in the shortest possible time the full satisfaction of the country's faction of the country's growing requirements in Tarm products and the further raising of the working people's living standards" should be regarded as "one of the most important and urgent tasks of communist construction."

In the course of reorganisation it is envisaged to set up in Regions. Territories and Republics, production admi-nistrations for managing ag-rigulture, and agricultural committees, which will be to satisfying more fully the headed by the First Secreta-demand of the population."

ries of the Contral Committees of the Comminist Parties of Union Republics, Territorial and Regional Party Commit-

"The Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Contral Committee condemns, the ley-faming system as insolvent from the scientific viewpoint, unit for socialist agriculture", the de-cision says.

The decision touches on questions of studying and in-troducing Soviet advanced expractice of farming of fraternal socialist countrie

It also deals with questions of strengthening the collective farms and state farms with experienced organisers and specialists. The import-ance of consistently abiding

by the principle of material incentive is stressed again.

The President of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers have been instructed to draft. have been mauruced to and adopt an extensive "programme for improving the material and technical supply of agriculture.
The decision says:

important not to lose time and do everything to secure al-ready this year a sharp in-crease in the output of agricultural products with a view

## GREAT PERSPECTIVES

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

HE problems of the and failures and unreality development of So- of the programme of buildviet agriculture have ing Communism rend the viet agriculture have been the big news these last few days. The Cen-Committee of the CPSU has just made a thorough check-up and a critical review of the whole position and set out new tasks and new organisational and admiorganisationar and admi-nistrative measures to accelerate agricultural production at a much faster rate than had been bitherto possible.

The task is to bring the culture in conformity with progress in industry the needs of the contem-porary stage of the construction of Communism in the USSR.

As usual whenever the Soviet Union plans further progress and gets ready to discard old forms, which retard a faster rate of growth, a cry goes up in the West and the pen bush-ers flood the U.S. with print trying to prove again that socialism ed in this or that aspect of planned economy. So now, too, shricks of crisis

But fast and slow are relative ferms and when here they call a certain rate of development slow it is already faster than achieved ready laster than achieved anywhere else in the world, and it is slow only in the sense that the Soylet peo-ple are not satisfied even with this particular rate of procress.

progress.

It means that even while the rate was "slow" progress was uninterrupted and faster than under any other system. It means that now the tempo is to be even faster and progress even more astounding.

more astounding.

The achievements in agriculture are a proof of this and speak for themselves since the September 1953 plenary meeting of the Central Committee which took the first in the second of the cook the cook the second of the cook took the first steps to cor-rect many misakes in agrioutput has gone up by 166, potatoes 179 vegetables 137, meat 150, milk 171, butter 180 and sugar 177 per cent by last year. Consumption

#### Growth

Per capita consumption of these staple items be-tween 1952 and 1961 went up from 35 to 50 per cent despite the 29 million increase in population. If the reactionary press calls this a "trisis" of the socialist system of agriculture it 1. a very strange crisis, in-

This of course, does not mean that there are no weaknessess or inefficient practices and that nothing hinders the even faster rate of development planned.

The whole plenum was a The whole plenum was a frank and outspoken affair and brought all the weaknesses to public attention so that they could be liquidated as scon as possible.

As a matter of fact a number of zonal conferences were held before "the

plenum in order to better understand the processes taking place in the countryside and to draw correct conclusions on the ques-tion of further develop-ment of socialist agricul-

Thousands of leadin experts took part in the discussion and nearly all discussion and the conferences were attended by Khrushchov himself. His report to the recent Central Committee plenum was a deep and de-tailed survey of the whole agricultural scene.

The demand for foodstuffs is growing rapidly. The reason is the fast population growth and rising incomes of the people who now consume more proteins instead of starch, demand more meat. eggs, birther and take less bread, cereals and take less bread, cereals and potates. So the shortages are mainly a result of more money in the people's pockets and the increasing demand which agricultural growth has not been fast enough to fully satisfy.

As a matter of fact a number of republics have not been able to fulfil the

plan of agricultural pro-duction last year and have lagged behind in this serito bring out the root causes Committee

Moscow, March 12.

The Central pointed out that it was necessary to reorganise work both from the point of view of the actual organisation of production and to find ways and means of using the land in the most effective way.

One of the reasons of

the slow rate of progress has been the outmoded grasslands farming system the slow rate and crop rotation with grasses. Attempts were being made to fit in the new big assignments with this nd rotation system, which is not used by any country with an advanced agricu-

ture.
This system Soviet Academician liams was raised into a re-ligion and damaged Soviet agriculture for who did not recognise it were proclaimed enemies of the people.

Khrushchov said that Stalin was attracted by this system and supported its intensive introduction in all areas of the land not knowledge of agriculture. He was apparently attracted by Williams' assertions that under this system less capital investments in agri-culture were needed and there was no need to build a large number p produce mineral fertilizers. Actually, Khrushchov said, the grass land rotation system sprang from the past economic backwardness.

Industry to produce mineral fertilizers was not developed Williams denled the importance of winter wheat which actually gives higher yields in many areas and his theories damaged animal husbandry, too, because under the rotation system farms could neither produce enough grain nor

#### Efficient Farming

Now the grass lands farming is being replaced by more efficient farming methods, with a highe level of mechanisation, in-tensive cultivation and full use of the land and with such rich crops as maize, peas, beans, sugar-beet and carrots used as fodder, animal husbandry and meat and milk production is going up. But the old habits and

conservative methods die hard and a real campaign is being run and a battle waged to get rid of the past legacy of mistakes.

The main thing which emerged from the pleasure.

the reorganisation of agricultural management. The plenum holds that the not correspond to the high. It restricts the po needs to be radically reor-

THEDAY BREAKS BRIGHTER TOMORROW

PLAY BECOMES HAPPY SERVICE Today's service. Today's effort. Continuous, successive. Work-laden, face shining with a smile. Tomorrow...a little less of care, a little more of joy.

And for HINDUSTAN LEVER, too, tomorrow begins today. thin the research laboratory, in the factory and office. Work, patience, care

to serve tomorrow's homes and the nation's needs with products that grow better and better.

TODAY AND TOMORROW...HINDUSTAN LEVER SERVES THE HOME

WITH SOAPS, FOODS, TOILET PREPARATIONS

MARCH 18, 1982

NEW AGE

U.S. Impa As-e

It was a unique experience I had—of being pre-sent at the last Kripalani election meeting in North Bombay. It was February 23 and at 12 midnight all election meetings had to come to a stop. For polling was to be held on the 25th, and Saturday, the day in between, was the day of "truce".

had started rather early with a Bombay colleague that evening from the centre of the city for the suburbs where the last skirmishes of the great battle were being fought out. We were headed for Jogeshwari as we had seen an announcement that Acharyaji would be address-ing a "workers' meeting"

#### High Excitement

During those days of high excitement, as everybody knows, Bombay's local trains and stations had become scenes of heated political controversy. And it so happened that on that particular even-ing, in all the groups that we same across. somehow the came across, somehow the supporters of Acharya Kripa-lani seemed to be on the offensive.

First, there was a short, shrivelled, elderly gentleman—a sort of black sahib with a white topee on, declaiming to a group of much younger peo-ple how Menon's victory would mean the end of all religion and morality.

He was such an angry old man, that the younger ones

was set nearby with a lone bulb flickering above. Obviously itw as no "work-ers' meeting". It seemed to be an area election meeting. A number of quite prospe-rous looking ladies, sur-rounded by some admirers, appeared to be in charge of arrangements

the arrangements.

They kept on telling them how wicked the ruling party was and how it was spreading all sorts of lies against Kripalani. They said that their side was the poor man's side while the capitalists and the government were on the other side.

The curious groups of people lingered on for a while and then started melting away for there was no sign of Bajaj turning up or the "meeting" really starting.

In the meanwhile. wended our way to the station, we found quite a big Menon procession that seemed to have spontaneously formed in the locality, preparing to march through the streets.

Chasing Kripalaniji we finally landed up in Mahim where a meeting was really on. And that was the last meeting of the Kripalani election campaign.

It was quite a well-at-

denouncing the people's mor-cha against and bonfire of the Indian Express.

Acharya Kripalani arrived with great fanfare and accompanied by quite a few Western photographers and newsmen. People in the audience could not help remarking how deeply these foreigners were interested in this election.

Just before Acharvait the

Just before Acharyaji, the other star performer of the evening, the film actor Prem Nath, had arrived with equally great fanfare. And the real performance began.

Prem Nath announced that he was going to invoke the blessings of God for "this old man", and said that he was going to recite prayers, "as it vas done at Gandhiji's meet-

He then proceeded to murder one by one all the holy scrip-tures. Having done that suctures. Having done that successfully, he went on to tell the audience that all the numerous film stars, artistes, directors, etc., who were sup-porting Krishna Menon were matters and ignoramuses. Finally, he ended up by telling the gethering that Krishna Menon and those supporting him were all "thieves".

Acharya Kripalani was the next speaker. There was not a word, not even a remote hint, of disapproval of the disgraceful buffconery that had just been performed before his eyes. He spoke of the high mission he had nevertheless remains a subject for a thorough enquiry and the people of this coun-try deserve to be told as to how and from where it ori-ginated.

One must admit that very few people expected the mar-gin of Krishna Menon's vic-tory to be so colossal. Even after the polling, people thought it would be somewhere between thirty and fifty thou-

#### Great Dignity

How did it happen? There is no doub; that the two sides conducting the two campaigns had two different conceptions of the level of intelligence and of the sense of decency of the electorate.

More than that was, per-haps, the fact that the bat-tle became a political battle par excellence—something reminiscent of and parallel to the great national campaigns to throw off the foreign yoke, with one side obviously sreking to throw the country back and the other passionately resisting that effort and proclaiming its resolve to carry the country its resolve to carry the country forward along the path of socialism and democracy. The break-through certain-

ly came thanks to the efforts of the broad-based Support Menon Committee. One won-ders what would have haptheir capacity to intelligent-ly participate in this were questioned and sought to be

The great dignity with which they comported themselves, apart from the high political level of understanding derstanding and the great moral courage they display moral courage they display-ed would make any country proud of them. The demo-cratic movement of this country owes them a debt of gratitude which it shall never forget.

Many honest Congressmen. both from Bombay and out-side, threw themselves whole-heartedly in this battle be-tween progress and reaction. A. M. Tariq, Violet Alva and A. M. Tariq, Violet Alva and many others passionately joined the ranks, Along with Dr. A. V. Baliga, Rajani Patel, R. K. Karanjia, K. A. Abbas and hosts of others, they were made the target of ridicule and abuse. Yet they carried the fight to a victorious finish.

Above all, it was the common working man and wo-man, the conscious working class of the constituency who struck the decisive blow. They had the sagacity to see through all the false propaganda and subterfuges.

The bitterest opponents of the hated Congress Labour Minister Shantilal Shah, were the most ordent supporters and active campaigners for Krishna Menon. It is signifi-cant that while Shantilal Shah's own vote was only the most ardent

## North Bombay—A Great who were listening to him with some reverence and awe, had very soon to give up the effort of trying to argue with him. In another instance, while listening

him.
In another instance, while

we were waiting to change trains at a station, we overheard a conversation between two Hindustani baboos. One of them very mildly

asked the other why he would not vote for Krishna Menon. The other person almost The other person almost shouted back that never and in no case would he vote for Menon. The former shrugged his shoulders and that was the end of the argument.

A few more such encounters, and I felt quite upset. I wondered why these Menon supporters would not hit back and argue it out. Thinking it over later I realised that by that time the two sides had made up their minds.

While the Menon supportwhile the Menon support-ers appeared to be more numerous, the Kripalaniites had worked themselves into a hysteria. Perhaps, they also realised that they were outnumbered and were not prepared to listen to any arguments.

This was somewhat confirmed when we reached Jogeshwart, the spot where the "workers' meeting" was to be addressed by Kripalani. After a flot of knocking about we did succeed in finding out that a Kripalani meeting was going to be held in front of the post

And as we reached the spot a shrill shricking voice was announcing through a mike fitted in a car that the meet-ing would be starting soon and Ramakrishna Bajaj would soon be there to address it. The car was parked in open space on the roadside, a table

tended meeting. For both the PSP and the Muslim League seemed to be quite strong in that area. Jamaate-Islami posters, describing in gory detail "Red atroci-ties" against Islam and Muslims in the Soviet Union, were widely plastered.

When we reached there, Maniben Kara was denounc-ing the Prime Minister for his tireless campaigning for Krishna Menon. This was a common point with almost all the subsequent speakers, includ-ing Kripalani himself. Obviously, the Prime Minister's long distance campaigning was hurting them very much.

"They say that a vote for Jenon is a vote for Nehru", Maniben was saying. "How can you vote for Nehru here in Bombay? For that you will have to go to Phulpur. And you will be turned back even from there, for your name will not be found on the rolls".

#### Western Admirers

was at this level-besides all the usual stuff about Communists and cryptos—about handing over Indian territory to China, that the argument was carried forward by subsequent speakers including F. M. Pinto, the PSP candidate for assembly, and another PSP leader Moinuddin Harris, the latter arguing at length about "freedom of the Press" and

undertaken of safeguarding the spiritual values of all religions. He made a special point of the fact that he had entered upon the fight at the instance of some high-placed Congressmen and that he still had their blessings and support.

It was already past twelve. The meeting had to come to a rather abrupt close, without the candidate having had his full say.

#### Brazen Forgery

On the polling day, going round the constituency, the most remarkable experience we had was in Parle-Andheri. At one of the roadside election "offices" of Kripalani, a hand-written poster was hung up announcing that "thirty Chinese tankers" (later chan-ger into tanks) had crossed into Indian territory and the Government of India was keeping the news secret from the people.

An amazing piece of brazen forgery, which we discovered later, had been planned at some very high level, perhaps to play the role of a Zinoviey Letter at the last moment in turning the election. turning the election.

It was reported that even a certain news agency's wires had carried the fabrication the previous night, But it was somehow detected and scotched in time. It pened if this Committee had not taken the initiative to organise the campaign it did, in face of the hypocritical protests of the official Congress Committee.

Responsible people in the latter body seem to have hatched the diabolical plot that like the proverbial dog in the manger they would keep the charge of the campaign in their hands and as a result their hands, and as a result, neither do anything themselves nor allow others to do anything. In the bargain they also hoped to show how in-

also hoped to snow now ineffective even the Prime Minister's fullest support could be.
This sinister plot was seen.
through and the Support
Menon Committee appeared
on the scene. And the magnion the scene. And the magni-ficent job done by this com-mitte with the most active collaboration of India's top-notch film artistes, directors, poets, writers, working jour-nalists and others will long remain a cherished chapter in the history of the state. the history of our national movement

No calumny was left unused against them, no pressure was left unutilised. The base and vile abuse to which the coun-try's most loved film actors and artistes like Raj Kapoor, and artistes like Raj Kapoor, Dilip Kumar, Balraj Sahni and all the rest of them were exposed and the great moral courage they revealed under these pressures have few parallels.

Even their fundamental right as Indian citizens to take part in shaping the destiny of their country and

34,329—and a good number of these must have voted against Menon—Menon's vote in that

these must have voted against Menon—Menon's vote in that particular Assembly constituency was 51,112.

In all the assembly constituencies the Menon vote is much bigger than the Congress vote for the assembly candidates. It is obviously not merely the Congress vote.

Speaking at the Menon Victory Celebration meeting in New Delhi last Monday, Krishna Menon gave a lucid and passionate exposition of national policies—for the implementation of the national movement's long-standing and cherished ideals of social justice, for the elimination of monopolies and for letting the people have a full sense of participation and belonging ple have a full sense of par-ticipation and belonging. He described socialism as a necessity for this country and emphasized the need to be vigilant in the preserva-tion of the country's independence.

Other speakers at the meeting including K. D. Malaviya fully associated themselves fully associated themselves with these ideas.

The people who had gather

ed at the meeting, sharing the sense of victory with the peosense or victory what the peo-ple of North Bombay and the rest of the country look for-ward to action to implement these proclamations. They will never fall those who put their trust in them as they have shown in North Bombay.

-Zia-Ul-Haa